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Students' Perceptions of Racial Desegregation and Integration in
Three Schools around Durban

By

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DECLARATION OF ORIGINALITY

I, Nkululeko Patrick Hlakanyana, declare that this research report: "Students' Perceptions of Racial Desegregation and Integration in Three Schools around Durban" is my own work and that all sources I have quoted or used have been acknowledged.

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ABSTRACT

This study explores the perceptions of racial desegregation and integration in schools from the point of view of students in three schools that previously fell under NED, HOR and HOD. Democratization of schools which has coincided with desegregation is also touched on briefly.

Schools that previously catered for one race group have had to admit all learners irrespective of race after desegregation. This has encouraged migration of learners from township schools to previously 'coloured', 'Indian' and 'white' schools in search of spaces. This process of school desegregation which is just a simple mechanical process inevitably leads to a more complex one, racial integration. In each of the schools studied, a questionnaire with items on racial desegregation and integration was given to a grade 11 class and a follow-up interview schedule based on questionnaire responses was drawn. 45 minute interviews were conducted with smaller groups in each grade 11 class and one group per school was used for interviews.

The results showed that students are very positive about desegregation, integration and democracy. It became evident that in South Africa, there is a shortage of a strong cadre in integration issues. Students tended to show support for strategies of avoiding issues as evidenced by a strong preference for 'colour blindness' and for students to see themselves as one 'Rainbow Nation'. The results also showed that while racial desegregation was evident among students, the same could not be said about the staff and the school governing bodies. There was a noticeable drop in numbers of students to whom the school previously belonged and an increase of African students. The study also revealed that students know what they want to learn in schools.

ACRONYMS / ABBREVIATIONS

- CNE** - Christian National Education
- HOD** - House of Delegates
- HOR** - House of Representatives
- NED** - Natal Education Department
- RCL** - Representative Council of Learners.

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INTRODUCTION

AIM AND PURPOSE

The current study sought to explore students' perceptions of racial desegregation and racial integration in schools. The study was carried out in three schools around Durban, an ex HOD school an ex HOR school and an ex NED school. In South Africa, schools that have undergone racial desegregation are former 'white', Indian' and 'coloured' schools. There has been and still is a remarkable movement of African students from township schools to the schools that have opened their doors to learners of all race groups. This process has coincided with the democratization of schools characterized by the formation of school governing bodies.

The researcher, a township school educator, wanted to know how students interrelated in these schools and also how they were affected by race issues which were entrenched in the apartheid policy under the Nationalist Party. Under apartheid, the South African society was based on a system of difference, stressing superiority and inferiority. The researcher wanted to find out if the elements of dominant / subordinate relationships existed in these schools. The researcher was particularly interested in how African students were adapting to their new schools and also how desegregated schools were adjusting themselves in line with their new racial intake. The focus of the study was on the new complex situations faced by the desegregated schools and the students in them. The allegations that teachers in desegregated schools lacked skills to deal with desegregated classes would be verified or falsified.

REVIEW OF LITERATURE

The study of students' perceptions on many issues is somewhat under-researched and as a result there were not many publications on this issue. This is further aggravated by the fact that race, school

desegregation and racial integration have been regarded as sort of taboo by South Africa. Under apartheid, researchers had to tread on these issues cautiously and this accounts for the scarcity of studies on these issues. The process of school desegregation was very limited even to the point of being non-existent before 1990.

The review of literature is divided into two parts. The first part deals with segregated schooling until its demise and the stages of school desegregation. The second part part deals with the theoretical foundations of integration.

Local Review

Publications reviewed touched on education and race during the apartheid era. Education in South Africa is traced from 1948. The foundations of apartheid education such as CNE were dealt with. The apartheid education was perceived as unjust. Literature that dealt with resistance to apartheid and the alternatives to apartheid education were reviewed. The initial step towards desegregation by Catholic schools is discussed.

International Publications

International publications dealing with race and education were reviewed. Trends towards racial desegregation and racial integration in United Kingdom and America were examined. In America, the 1954 decision of the Supreme court in Brown v. Board of education marked the end of legal, official segregation of schools. In the UK, on the other hand, segregation was never institutionalized but this does not mean that integration was not a problem. The trends in these countries were compared to the trend in South Africa. Authorities on racial desegregation and integration were cited in an attempt to clear the conceptual muddle caused by the loose usage of the terms racial desegregation and integration.

Both local and international publications were reviewed with the aim of exploring the current debates on different approaches to school integration. These approaches include assimilation, multiculturalism, antiracism, critical multiculturalism and critical antiracism. Assimilation is the first approach adopted after school desegregation. As time passes, it becomes clear that the newly admitted groups have beliefs and experiences that have to be taken into account in their learning process leading to multiculturalism. Some critics break away from multiculturalism in protest against the celebration of differences. This leads to anti-racist approaches. There are currently raging debates between multiculturalists and anti-racists. Both have sought to refine their approaches by adding 'critical' to qualify their approaches. The debate goes on between multiculturalists and anti-racists.

METHODOLOGY

A broadly qualitative methodology was used.

Samples

Three case study schools were chosen for the study. These schools previously belonged to ex-NED, ex-HOD and ex-HOR. Three schools convenient to the researcher were used for the study. A grade 11 class in each of the three schools was used. The researcher made use of a grade 11 class made available to him by each of the three schools.

Data collection

A 19 - item questionnaire was administered to the whole grade 11 class in each of the three schools. The questionnaire dealt with students' views about their teachers, their school and their classmates. The students had to agree or disagree on an item. A 'not sure' option was also provided as the third option. The questionnaire was intended to provide a broad picture of students' perceptions of racial desegregation and integration. Statistical tests of significance were not employed as the questionnaire served to provide background information for the compilation of an interview schedule. The responses

per item were counted and placed in a table. Most responses provoked further questions. An interview schedule was then drawn to provide more depth and clarity on these items. Interviews were conducted with smaller groups in each grade 11 class. The interviews were semi-structured and provided a more in-depth picture of the implementation of policies of racial integration from the point of view of the students. A tape recorder was used to record the interviews.

RESULTS AND MAIN ARGUMENTS

The study revealed that students in these three desegregated schools were positive towards desegregation and that had attained different levels of integration. All schools showed a strong tendency to favour assimilation and to a lesser extent multiculturalism. This was not a typical of recently desegregated schools. The student racial composition in most schools reflected that there is a change in South Africa but other school structures such as governing bodies and teaching staff did not show that racial desegregation has taken place. The students admitted that contact among them was only limited to school time. Despite the democratization of schools, it appeared that students still did not have a significant input in curriculum matters. The roles of the Representative Council of Learners (RCL) and prefects were not well demarcated and there appeared to be rivalry between these two student structures.

The apparent inadequacies of these schools do not reflect their unwillingness to change. Schools are expected to change but there are no clear national or provincial guidelines designed to facilitate integration in desegregated schools. Schools are left on their own to do whatever they think is right. Teachers who are products of segregated schooling themselves are expected to miraculously turn into efficient multicultural classroom experts. Not much support is provided in the form of in-service training courses. Instead, there is a clear intention to sideline issues of race and discrimination. There are attempts to romanticize race issues as evidenced by concepts such as the 'Rainbow Nation'.

The government has a clear obligation to assist in matters of racial desegregation, racial integration and democratization. The provincial and national departments of education need to formulate policies aimed at these processes. The gap between school desegregation and residential area desegregation is also a cause for concern.

CHAPTER ONE

EDUCATION IN SOUTH AFRICA FROM 1948-1994

1.1 Introduction and historical background

For many years, education in South Africa was characterised by separation according to race. There were separate schools for whites, Indians, coloureds and Africans. The quality of education offered in these schools was different. Whites had a lot of resources such as fully equipped laboratories, highly qualified teachers, well-built schools and many other things. The Indians enjoyed the second best and the Africans received the poorest form of education. Teachers were underqualified, students had to travel long distances to schools and the schools themselves were not inspiring at all. The schools encouraged students to drop out in order to join their parents on the shop floor and provide cheap labour to white bosses.

The emphasis on segregated schooling intensified in 1948 when the National Party won the elections. In 1953 the system of Bantu education was institutionalised to further entrench

racial segregation that was already present in South African schools. This was supported by many other pillars of apartheid such as the Population Registration Act which classified each person according to racial criteria., the Group Areas Act which stipulated separate residential areas for different racial groups, the Separate Amenities Act which segregated public amenities such as public transport , beaches , sports facilities and picnic areas. These were recognised and accorded social significance in every sphere of daily life (Christie 1990). Apartheid proponents believed that physical differences between races transmuted into intellectual differences. The intellectual abilities of races were easily rank ordered with whites at the top and Africans at the bottom. When education policies were drawn up, these issues were taken into consideration. Apartheid viewed culture as unchanging and each race group had to learn what was relevant to its culture.

Architects of apartheid such as Verwoerd forcefully asserted that mathematics was not supposed to be learnt by Africans because their culture did not need it and would therefore, never be helpful to an African. Verwoerd argued that Africans had to learn how to fetch water and hew wood and had to be made to understand that equality with the whites was not for them. Education prepared future citizens for life in a divided society.

1.2 *Christian National Education (CNE)*

Behr (1988) argues that every nation has its own distinctive educational system. Though each system is unique, it is nevertheless tied to some representative pattern. Each pattern has a dominant educational objective, specific administrative organisation and institutional structure. CNE was one of the strong pillars of apartheid education. It was founded by

the Dutch Reformed Church. The Dutch settlers brought with them to the Cape a tradition of religious education. The church provided the authoritarian framework within which other social services developed. The ecclesiastical authorities took steps to ensure that all teachers were loyal to the church and doctrinally sound. They issued licences to teach, and forbade anyone from teaching who was not in possession of such a licence (Behr 1988). It was emphasized that all aspects of life, including education, should be regulated in accordance with the law of God. The Nationalist Party (NP) wanted maintenance, protection and consolidation of the white race as the bearer of Christian civilisation in South Africa. CNE was seen as a powerful tool in implementation of this view.

According to Behr (1988) fervent exponents of CNE believed that God ordained that there should be an Afrikaner nation with land and a language of its own and a religion based on orthodox Protestant-Calvinist principles. National was seen as love for one's culture and heritage. Christian and National went hand in hand. In order to preserve African purity and supremacy, there had to be separate schools for all races in South Africa.

1.3 Resistance to apartheid education

The Soweto schools' uprising in 1976 marked a turning point in the history of South African education. The Nationalist Party clearly departed from the initial stance of educating people to fit in with their race and tried to elevate its language. African students were forced to have Afrikaans as their medium of instruction. This was opposed and resulted in uprisings which made a tremendous impact on schooling in South Africa.

It was at this point that the Catholic Church resolved to break with long standing practices of separate schools for different races and admitted pupils of all races to its previously segregated schools. According to Christie (1990) the Catholic Church began an "Open school movement" which challenged the prohibition of mixed schools, even though the challenge launched by the open schools to segregated schooling was rather a timid one. They shied away from calling their schools "integrated" which was an emotive word and settled for the term "open" to the people of God. These schools were registered with the white education department. The movement of students was one-directional, from black townships to white schools. Distance and fees made it difficult for the majority of people to gain access to open schools. Sporting and recreational contacts were predominantly with white schools. White parents were more active and better represented than black parents in parent teacher associations. There were no Open schools in Black group areas. These schools offered a white standard of education to a small and select number of pupils. The staffing in these schools was predominantly white. There was no open school with a black principal or deputy principal. Entrance examinations ensured preservation of academic standards. Contact between black and white students was only limited to school times.

Black pupils were merely assimilated in most open schools.

There were a number of barriers and threats that were levelled against open schools. These included inspection, withdrawal of subsidies and closure. They were further encouraged to enrol as few students as possible. This was accomplished by the introduction of the racial quota system with schools that had fewer blacks receiving higher state subsidies and schools which were less than 70% white not qualifying for registration with the white

departments. Open schools themselves did not envisage fundamental social change and did not align themselves with black students concerns. In Open schools, students were not educated formally nor informally into an intellectual understanding or theoretical consciousness of the racism of apartheid South Africa and how this could be changed (Christie 1990). The Open Schools movement assumed that a segregated schooling system would continue to operate and that the Catholic church had to remain involved in segregated institutions. It is really striking that the Catholic church assumed that a racially divided system had to be maintained. Also patently obvious in the Open Schools movement was the lack of unity and uniformity. The numbers of black students and the standards of each school were left to the school to decide. As a result of this, some schools initiated changes in line with their racial composition while some prided themselves on maintaining traditional standards.

It must, however, be pointed out that the Catholic church did make an impact however timid their challenge was. This church introduced both desegregation and maybe even integration in some South African schools.

1.4 People's education - an alternative to apartheid education.

Dissatisfaction with apartheid education gave birth to an alternative form of education, people's education. Apartheid was rejected because it was considered inferior and fit for slaves. The exponents of people's education such as Father Mkhathshwa, Zwelakhe Sisulu, Lulu Johnson and others argued that this form of education was not being imposed from above. According to Father Mkhathshwa on Peoples Education in a Soweto Parents' Crisis

Committee Conference in 1985 argued that people were to be fully involved and put in command of their lives. This form of education was designed for the majority of South Africans and it developed at the same time as when private schools, commercially run schools which benefited the elite, also mushroomed. People's education was perceived to be an essential ingredient of the struggle for a non-racial democratic society, in the same way that Christian National Education was part of the apartheid social system. People's education was conceived of as a process rather than a rigid doctrine. This form of education was intended to liberate and develop a critical consciousness. It would aim to develop a total education system for the future and would embody a broad understanding of education that included children and adults. This form of education would not be confined to the classroom and conventional institutions. People's education would encourage thinking about the interests of the whole society. It would allow students, parents, teachers and workers to mobilise themselves into appropriate organisational structures (Mkhatshwa in a Soweto Parents Committee Conference in 1985).

People's education did not take off as expected by its exponents. Obstacles included issues such as the lack of economic power, the lack of commitment of the majority, resistance to change and numbers of teachers produced by the education institutions who did not have any knowledge about people's education. There were many other factors that prevented the proliferation of people's education. It must, however, be pointed out that the new curriculum, Outcomes Based Education (OBE) has a lot in common with people's education and the fact that strong exponents of people's education such as Father Smangaliso Mkhatshwa are now involved with the control of education clearly demonstrate that the original idea of people's education has not been discarded.

1.5 *Partial desegregation of schools in South Africa*

In the late 1980s, resistance in education escalated. There was a crisis in education over access, control and content. Black schools were overflowing while white schools were threatened by impending closure because of declining numbers. This glut and drought of educational resources existing within the same areas forced the minister of education Piet Clase to announce the new admission policy for white state schooling (Metcalf 1991). Piet Clase introduced the Clase models. The models which were named after him were models A, B and C. The formulation of this policy was a clear attempt to address the plight of the white rather than blacks. Model A was a privatisation route. The management committee would become the legal owner of the school after purchasing it at a nominal fee and the school would receive the state subsidy for private schools. Model B would be a fully funded and desegregated state school. The management committee would have the right to set and control admission policies for the school which would remain the property of the State. Model C was a semi-privatised school. The school would be state aided and would be owned by the management committee and have some members appointed by the State. All these schools had to have at least 51% of white children in order to be registered with the white department. The ethos of every school had to remain unchanged.

These schools had to adhere to Christian National Education. The parent had to vote for the model of their choice. There had to be 80% participation in the poll for the results to be valid and 72% of individuals in the voters' roll had to vote in favour of the proposal. Only then could the school apply to the Minister for permission to change its admission policy. At face value this appeared to permit desegregation but it must be stated that more

conservative possibilities were concealed and there was nothing to stop a school from adopting extremely restrictive criteria for admission.

A number of problems was associated with these models. They were seen as undemocratic in that they excluded the majority of parents from decisions about where their children might go to school and allowed a small minority to make decisions for the majority. These models were dismissed because they were perceived to be wedded to an apartheid style commitment to race and Christian National Education. There were many other anomalies including the fact that education for white students was compulsory and free and this was not the case with black children. Metcalfe (1990) argues that white schools requested funds which were voluntarily paid by the majority of parents. White children could not be sent home for not paying fees because education was compulsory. For black children education was not compulsory. No white school was obliged to take any black child who had not paid fees. This problem could be stretched to differential treatment. There were selective admission policies for black children and automatic acceptance of whites. The majority of schools used selective mechanisms for black applicants. Parents had to live in the area, parents had to own property in the area, black pupils would be admitted into grade 1, black pupils had to be pulled one class back, black pupils should have attended an English pre-primary school and they were not supposed to be older than the average age of the class. White children did not necessarily comply with all these requirements but were still admitted. Black applicants had to complete selection tests which emphasised English language and achievement in mathematics. As a result of this, only black pupils who could fit into the school without any effort made by the school were selected. The pupils who

benefited were mainly from traditional private schools.

The decision by the government to desegregate schools was not a voluntary one.

The glut and drought of educational resources, including that of human resources, forced the government to make a step towards desegregation (Metcalf 1991). The adoption of the Clase models provided an indication of attitudes to desegregation. White parents seemed divided because some parents were opposed to desegregation while some actively accepted desegregated schools. These models were operational from 1991 onwards. These were shortlived because in February 1991 Nelson Mandela was released from prison and in 1994 the first ever democratic elections were held in South Africa and were won by the African National Congress. Some people argue that the Clase models introduced the concept of school governing bodies with defined devolved powers and also that Clase models lived on into the South African Schools Act and applied to all schools. This marked a change in all schools. The government white paper on education of 1995 argues that for the first time in South Africa's history, a government was mandated to plan the development of the education and training system for the benefit of the country as a whole and all its people. The government had to create a system that was going to fulfil the vision of opening the doors of learning and culture to all. This included the need for South African to understand each other's history, culture, values and aspirations and not turn away from them. Desegregation of all schools appeared to be the answer. Access to education and training opportunities of good quality had to be provided to all children. All schools had to be either private or public schools. All children were given right of access to schooling and education by the constitution. A clear admission policy was formulated for public schools to avoid the practice of selective admission. Obstacles such as admission tests,

age and religion affiliation were abolished or amended to affiliate easy access for children to any school of their choice. Desegregation had to be accompanied by some form of democratisation of schools. This democratisation of education included the idea that stakeholders like parents, teachers, learners and members of the community had to participate in the activities of the school and had a say in making decisions about ways in which schools were run. In line with this the South African Schools Act of 1996 made it a legal requirement that every public school needed to establish a governing body which represents the school community.

1.6. Desegregation in other countries

South Africa has been the last country in the world to end racial segregation and this has put South Africa in a very good position to learn from other countries. In America, the end of segregation in schools was signalled by the court ruling in favour of Brown versus the School Board of Education in 1954. Even before the Brown decision, the process of school desegregation had been taking place and after the Brown decision, there continues to be litigation over school desegregation in some northern and western states.

It has been asserted by some researchers that lessons learned from other parts of the world do not always relate to our own experiences (Frederikse 1992). The argument has been that South African society is different from that of America or Europe and the key difference being that of numbers of black and white people. In America and Europe, the majority is white while in South Africa, whites represent a minority. In both cases, whites have dominated the blacks. In America and in Europe, whites dominated the black minority

while in South Africa, the white minority dominated the black majority. It has been this difference that persuaded some researchers to believe that changes in school systems in America and Europe are different from South Africa. It must be stated that South Africans are not the people who have experienced the process of school desegregation. School desegregation is an international trend which has finally been embraced by South Africa. The process is in many ways similar to that of Europe and America and South Africa is a third world country that is emulating the changes in first world countries. In most countries the process of desegregation generates confusion and conflict between different ethnic, Racial and socio-economic groups is minimised by keeping neighbourhoods homogeneous. School desegregation undermines the strengths of the social barriers and pools together children and families with different lifestyles, values and privileges bringing them into direct contact with each other (Rossel and Hawley 1983).

In America, school desegregation was seen as a step towards equalising educational opportunities for all children. For example poor black children were bussed to wealthier schools and magnet schools were created to attract children of all races who share a particular academic interest. A similar phenomenon has been seen here in South Africa where many white schools were threatened by closure and black township schools were overflowing. The Clase models brought about a phenomenon similar to the bussing of children to wealthier schools in America. Here in South Africa, children were bussed to white schools for a range of reasons. These included the belief that black township schools were inferior to white, Indian

and coloured schools. Many parents were disappointed with the poor examination results in townships and rural schools (Frederikse 1992). This bussing of children to better resourced schools was seen as a measure to prevent white schools from closing down because of diminishing numbers. Even today children from black townships still travel to more affluent schools in suburbs. Another phenomenon that is common to both S.A. and U.S is the dramatic decrease in the number of whites in public schools. This phenomenon is known as 'white flight'. This is when parents withdraw their children from a desegregated school. South Africa has something very similar to white flight because some previously white schools are now more than 90% black.

In the United Kingdom, on the other hand, school segregation was never institutionalised. It was assumed that learners would attend the same schools irrespective of whether they were black or white. The United Kingdom has a legacy of Empire and history of active diplomacy and this forced Britain to look beyond parochial opinion. After the Second World War, different racial groups emigrated from Britain's former colonies. Immigrants from Britain's ex-colonies were entitled to come to Britain as they had British nationality conferred upon them as part of the country's colonial policy (Honeyford 1988). As British citizens, they enjoyed the benefits arising from being a British citizen. The question of school desegregation was not an issue because their schools never had institutionalised segregation.

Some researchers such as Frederikse have argued that useful lessons for transforming South African education are more likely to be found in a society similar to South Africa, where

blacks are in the majority and the dominant culture is African (Frederikse 1992). Zimbabwe is seen as a good model for South Africa. Zimbabwe, like South Africa, segregated its schools along racial lines and before Zimbabwe won its independence in 1980, the Rhodesian government spent more money on a white child's schooling than on a black child's. Most black children dropped out of school at primary level. As a first step towards opening all schools for all children, Zimbabwe substantially increased its spending on education, and primary education was made free and compulsory. New schools were built and those destroyed in the war were rebuilt. Racial discrimination no longer prevented any child from attending the school of his or her choice. The Rhodesian school desegregation was similar to South African school desegregation of the 90s.

1.7. Integration in other countries

The above account deals with desegregation in schools which tends to be treated as synonymous with integration in schools. The two are not the same. Desegregation is a process which merely involves establishing the physical proximity of members of different groups in the same school (Naidoo 1996). It has been argued that desegregation is a one-off event which implies nothing about the quality of the interracial contact. On the other hand, integration involves the interaction of learners in a multiracial learning environment, both in and outside the classroom, where learners are provided with equal status and equal opportunities (Naidoo 1996). Rist (1979) suggests that integration is a process that follows school desegregation which may create, compound or alleviate conditions in a school. School integration focuses on what

is 'really going on', of what the day-to-day realities of school desegregation are for teachers, students, parents and administrators.

School integration is and has always been a contested and contentious issue.

Most information about school integration comes from newspapers and news magazines. Crain (1968) correctly argues that the picture portrayed by these sources is highly distorted. He further points out that, newspapers report in detail - the picketing, the boycotts, and the role of race in violence in schools. The picture that is usually painted by these sources is that conflict is news and peace is not. In most countries, there are many schools in which racial integration is well on track but the media has mainly concentrated on schools that appear to have problems with integration. It must however be acknowledged that racial integration in schools is still a problem even to the first world countries like United States where the decision to provide equal education was taken more than 40 years ago. Blacks in America are a minority but there appears to be areas of American society which are exclusively dominated by Blacks just like sport. This has been identified as racism which has its root in schools where it is usually assumed that most blacks are rather weaker in mental or intellectual exercises but will always excel in physical exercises. In a way, this separation of Blacks and Whites has brought about a phenomenon in most schools which has been seen as resegregation within schools. In most schools certain domains appear to be controlled by Whites.

Willis (1977) argues that most Blacks in Britain have demonstrated what he calls school counter culture and have called themselves 'lads' against some students, predominantly white who are called 'ear oles' by the 'lads'. The 'lads' are against everything that the school stands for. Some are

reported to have tried to go through the semester without writing even once. On the other hand, the 'ear oles' are seen by the 'lads' as teachers' pets. The observation drawn here is that most 'lads' have role models who are in the shop floor and school counter culture prepares the 'lads' for a smooth landing on the shop floor. The rejection of the school by most blacks clearly shows that the problem between blacks and the school as an institution still exists.

In the United Kingdom where racial desegregation was never institutionalised, racial integration has not been without hiccups. Honeyford (1988) asserts that the debate on multi-ethnic education has been marked by much sound, fury and intellectual wrangling. There was also clear discrimination and prejudice displayed towards non-white immigrants on the grounds of their colour. Colour has recently established itself as a crucial feature of British politics. It became clear that teachers were not equipped to handle racially mixed classes and tended to use strategies that sought to assimilate the non-whites. The naked reality that immigrants had important opinions and desires was not taken into account. Teachers of infants and juniors were hardest hit, because teachers underestimated the extent to which children were conscious of race and how grossly prejudiced they could be, as a result of acquiring racist attitudes from their parents (Bullivant 1981). Various attempts were made to dodge and mask the central problem that children from coloured groups were being discriminated against on the grounds of race alone. These black and brown Britons had been born in Britain. They were therefore, entitled to same rights to educational and occupational opportunities as their classmates. The socio-economic backgrounds, class and culture had been suggested as problems in British schools. Coloured children were over-represented in lower streams. It became

obvious that schools needed to readjust from the Eurocentric view, with its pro-white education, to a world view and an internationally-oriented education (Bullivant 1981). The curriculum had to be broken up and reconstructed with the experiences of all children taken into consideration. The attitudes of some academics and teacher educators who deplored immigration had to be dealt with. The teachers needed to be trained on how to teach mixed classes.

It has been argued that South Africa needs to learn from other African countries because of similar demographics. The problem that has been encountered in South Africa regarding racial desegregation and integration is at the same time not different from those of European countries. The patterns are the same and the characteristic feature of racism anywhere is the belief in superiority of one race over others. In South Africa, there are levels occupied by each race in the hierarchy. At the top are the whites, followed by the Indians, coloureds and then blacks. Desegregation has taken place in white, Indian and coloured schools. It is therefore important to monitor racial integration in these schools and make comparisons and contrasts in patterns shown by the former House of Assembly, House of Delegates and House of Representatives schools.

CHAPTER TWO

2. THEORETICAL FOUNDATIONS

In this chapter, an attempt will be made to link existing approaches on integration to the South African situation. School desegregation and integration have taken place in most countries

because racial segregation has been seen as unjust throughout the world because it violated the most basic right that of equal rights for all. South Africa tried to maintain segregation and has been the last country in the world to desegregate its schools.

The desegregation of schools started in the 70s albeit on a small scale. The demise of apartheid in 1994 strengthened the stance against division of schools according to racial classification. The process of desegregation that was already taking place on a large scale in the early 90s gained momentum in the mid 90s. According to Naidoo (1996) different schools followed different approaches of integration ranging from assimilation to multiculturalism and anti-racism. These processes took place after schools had opened their doors to all learners. Naidoo (1996) cautions that desegregation and integration should not be equated because desegregation is a mechanical process which merely involves establishing the physical proximity of members of different groups in the same school, implying nothing about the quality of the interracial contact while integration is a social process and a possible outcome of desegregation which is not a single event or a one-time shift in school conditions and also requires major changes of deep-seated attitudes and behaviour patterns among learners and teachers of minority and majority groups and in the institutional patterns and arrangements of schools. This chapter will now consider these different approaches.

2.1 *Assimilation*

Assimilation is a first step away from segregated schooling. This approach indicates that a school has accepted desegregation and has taken pupils from other race groups. Assimilation consciously makes a movement away from segregation according to racial lines. A study carried

out by Skuy and Vice (1996) on 'Attitudes to integration to integration in South Africa found that 59% of the teachers were favourably disposed to racial integration of schools while 41% held negative perceptions towards the prospect of integrated schools. This shows that assimilation which had been widely criticised is not the worst approach, because there are still people who favour totally segregated schooling. A number of shortcomings in this approach have been identified.

Assimilation assumes that minority racial groups have to fit themselves into the lifestyle of the majority racial groups. Assimilation adopts a colour-blind approach and treats equality as though it is synonymous with sameness. In this approach the focus is on inculcating the dominant tradition and values to the minority groups. Naidoo (1996) observes that in both the USA and UK, policies stressed the need to assimilate the immigrants or ethnic minorities into mainstream schools. It was assumed that once learners from minority groups mastered the English language, they would be absorbed into the dominant white society with less conflict. Education was seen as the primary factor in helping them fit into the existing white society. Their values, beliefs and prior knowledge were seen as irrelevant to education. The teachers prided themselves on not looking at children in terms of colour and pretended that students were just the same. Students were forced to deny their ethnic identity and heritage in order to participate more fully or to achieve success in the institution. Schools made no attempts to accommodate the differences of the new learners entering the schools which previously catered for majority race groups only. No allowance was made for language or cultural differences.

The assimilationist approach assumed that the host society was linguistically, culturally and racially superior to the new comers. There was preoccupation with the maintenance of

educational standards which were believed to be universal and the ethnic minority learners represented a threat to lower the performance of white learners. In South Africa, desegregated schools have on the whole followed the assimilationist approach. Vally and Dalamba (1999) point out that some respondents in their study claimed to see learners as learners and not along racial lines except in completing forms. Even pupils of the dominant racial grouping saw minority group pupils as the ones who needed to change and adapt to the school and did not see the school as having to change in order to adapt to its new school population.

But while the trend in South Africa is similar to some first world countries in Europe and America, there are some differences. For instance, in South Africa, the majority are African and they have been moving to the fewer, better resourced white, Indian and coloured schools. The Africans who form a majority in South Africa find themselves assuming the role of minorities in desegregated schools which is opposite to what obtains outside the school. These students are socialised into white, Indian and coloured ways during school times and they have to quickly adjust to township life in the afternoon. They have a clear classification 'African' and are not fully accepted by their new schools. At the same time, the township learners reject them because they have been to better schools. This creates a problem of belonging and calls on these students to develop strategies of adapting to life during school times and different ones for life after school. This poses problems for them. Some students are opposed to assimilation which is perceived as rendering African students invisible in desegregated schools.

In Indian and coloured schools, the laws that have been governing desegregation have not been very strict but under the Clase models white schools had to maintain their ethos and also have 51% white students to be registered with white departments (Metcalf 1991). These were

measures intended to justify assimilation of new comers into white schools. The Clase models have been done away with and schools have now been classified as either public or private schools. This is supposed to destroy any remnants of assimilation but still this approach continues. Public schools are expected to admit all learners regardless of race and also do away with quotas but mechanisms to deny some students admission to most schools have been devised. Vally and Dalamba (1999) identify school zoning and fees as some. This is probably caused by the fact that the teaching staff in desegregated schools remains the same despite the changed racial intake of schools. Teachers still socialise students into the pre-desegregation education and set the standards as if nothing has changed. Even new students accept that they have been done a favour by being admitted into a white, Indian or coloured school and constantly refer to the new school as "their" (referring to the host race) school.

Assimilation is a deceptive approach that appears smooth but is rugged inside. Children of different race groups go to the same school and race and racism are apparently expunged from existence. In the United States, the melting pot theory was used for this approach (Naidoo 1996) and Vally and Dalamba (1999) bill it 'assuming the ostrich position'. Schools can follow an assimilationist approach but this is very difficult for individual teachers. Carrim (1998) observes that the daily pedagogical challenges that teachers face at the chalk face force them to reconsider assimilation. Naidoo (1996) supports this view by pointing out that for pedagogical and other reasons, such as multiple interpretations of ethnic identities, the assimilationist approach was soon recognised as inadequate. Teachers whether white, coloured or Indian, were for the first time in their teaching confronted by multilingual, multiethnic, and multicultural classrooms. They could no longer teach in their normal ways. They could no longer use the same examples to explain things, they could not uncritically reprimand students in the same ways, and they

simply could not take the same things for granted. Skuy and Vice (1996) also strongly comment on difficulties experienced by teachers who identified the lack of common ground for understanding life styles, values, understanding language/communications, overcoming prejudices, planning for individual differences of pupils, poor background of black pupils, black pupils' lack of training in the home, black children's downgrading of themselves, fear of being prejudiced, defensiveness amongst students, vulgarity, lack of confidence in handling purely racial problems and parental apathy. These daily pedagogical encounters pushed teachers away from assimilationist approaches to adopting a more multicultural approach in order to educationally reach the 'others' background, ways of making meaning, and difference.

2.2. *Multiculturalism*

The shift towards multiculturalism in the United States took place against protests from the strong adherents of assimilation who saw multiculturalism as an attempt to politicise education in order to pander to minority demands, and some radicals labelled it as an ideological device of perpetuating the reality of racist exploitation of ethnic minorities by pampering their cultural sensitivities (Modgil et.al 1986). It has been argued that multiculturalism is destabilizing and destructive to the common bonds of American nationhood because it replaces universalism with particularism and introduces ethnicity unnecessarily and unhelpfully into the civic realm thereby hardening ethnic boundaries and also bringing difference and division where there was once unity and common purpose (May 1998). These commentators cite Rwanda and former Yugoslavia as examples of the products of multiculturalism.

Multiculturalism originated in the liberal pluralist approach to education and society and was a new curricular form that attempted to address black radical demands for the restructuring of

school knowledge and pedagogical practices in the USA and UK (Naidoo 1996). After the rejection of the assimilationist approach, many people argued for a form of education with a pluralist orientation and a multi-ethnic perspective. The Centre for Educational Research and Innovation in Paris (1989) sees multicultural education as having developed in most countries when it was realised that most curricula were ethnocentric and that one way of obtaining real understanding and mutual tolerance between the members of the different communities was relativising these curricula, pruning them and including lessons on other cultures. It was hoped that by getting pupils to realise that there were other ways of thinking, they would learn that their own culture was not intrinsically superior, and others necessarily inferior as the assimilationist approach portrayed. The multicultural approach sought to convince students that the majority did not mean superior and minority was not equal to inferior. Minority signified a different way of life, a different form of sociality and community membership. The kind of difference between dominant and dominated, majority and minority does not in this view exist between major and minor (Centre for Educational Research and Innovation 1989).

In South Africa, some writers have seen multicultural education as the best solution to problems encountered as a result of desegregation. Lemmer and Squelch (quoted in Naidoo 1996) hailed multicultural education as a sound approach based on pedagogical rather than political concerns, which can contribute to the development of equal educational opportunities. The notion of multiculturalism seems to have been embraced by the South African Education Department. Bengu in his introduction of the Government White Paper (1995) also shows support for multiculturalism. South Africa as a whole appears to be attracted to multiculturalism. The symbols used, such as the 'Rainbow Nation' capture unity in diversity prevalent in the South African society. Some critics have pointed out that even the rainbow symbol stresses differences and

division in a negative way. Vally and Dalamba (1999) assert the 'rainbow nation' concept has encouraged schools to follow a multicultural approach often clumsily. Students in desegregated schools see themselves as United Nations and there doesn't appear to be satisfaction with multiculturalism which does not come as a surprise because multiculturalism cannot claim resounding success in America and Europe.

Multiculturalism has come under heavy criticism especially from the anti-racists. A certain poet wrote that whenever he heard the word culture mentioned, he quietly released the safety catch of his gun. He saw the word as very slippery and difficult to pin down. One can imagine the extent of the problem when the word is not just 'culture' but 'multi-culture'. This view is supported by Verma (quoted in Modgil et al 1986) who asserted that multicultural education has no clear-cut meaning and has blind-alley implications which take people away from moral and social realities and direct them towards conceptual confusion. Modgil et.al. (1986) argue that multiculturalism is a term without an agreed definition, and its implementation appears to be dependent upon the standpoints of individuals.

Multiculturalism has been criticised for evading the question of race and racism and going for a hazy concept 'culture'. The possibility of uniting people by evading racism is questionable especially in a country like South Africa where race has been an integral part of people's lives. Cross and Mkhwanazi (quoted in Carrim 1998) argue that uncritical acceptance of multicultural practices in South Africa could quite easily perpetuate, rather than erode racism. Troyna (1993) points out that there is an inherent contradiction in multiculturalism, that of espousal of a commitment to equality on the one hand and that of the right of minorities to maintain their cultural identity on the other.

Other scholars have identified another problem with multiculturalism. The schools and the teachers in them are not multicultural. There are minorities but the mainstream has the majority which must be served by the school and in most cases, the teachers are members of the majority. Education is therefore, not culturally neutral because its intellectual content and orientation is permeated by the world view 'characteristic of the dominant culture (Parekh in Modgil et.al. 1986).'. Education is not apolitical because it cultivates specific attitudes and values. This clearly shows how fallacious it is to hear teachers making claims about their effectiveness in delivering multicultural education. Teachers have been consistently blamed for being racist, ethnocentric and unsympathetic towards the culturally plural society. Teachers are less at fault than teacher educators in training institutions. Teachers are mainly what they have been made to be. An educational system may avow the ideals of freedom, objectivity, independent thought, universality of knowledge, intellectual curiosity and so on. In actual practice, it often does little more than initiate and even indoctrinate its pupils into the dominant culture. Parekh (quoted in Modgil et.al. 1986) bluntly asserts that the orientation of multicultural education is monocultural and that the evidence is what schools teach and how they teach. For instance, religious studies in most Western countries concentrate on Christianity and either ignore other religions or go over them in a confused and cursory manner. One wonders how multicultural these schools are when Christianity is presented as the greatest or even the only true religion, and others simply dismissed as 'primitive' and 'quaint' or of inferior quality (Parekh in Modgil et.al. 1986). Islam is said to be 'fanatical' and 'dogmatic'. Little attempt is made to raise the pupil above his own religious belief and to get him to enter into the spirit of other religions, appreciate their visions of human predicament, understand their complex symbols and imagery, and respect them as diverse and fascinating achievements of the human spirit (Parekh in Modgil et.al. 1986).

The claims to multiculturalism are further destroyed when one looks at history. History concentrates on the history of Britain and, to some extent, parts of Europe and America and ignores the great non-Western civilizations. Even the king and the queen of England are portrayed as superior to other kings. Africa is just dismissed as a dark continent whose inhabitants never really rose above animal life and the Asians are all supposed to have been governed by despots who lived by plunder and hardly allowed the development of culture and civilization (Parekh in Modgil et.al. 1986).

Short and Carrington (1996) cast serious doubt on the multi-culture belief that when students know one another's culture, they will understand and accept one another. They dismiss a curriculum suffused with multiculturalism on the grounds that familiarity may, in fact, breed resentment. The effect is counter-productive. This reinforces the belief that minority groups are so alien that they have no place in the mainstream schools. Multi-culture has monoculturalism as its goal and tends to breed arrogance and insensitivity. Knowledge in this case does not promote tolerance. The minority groups are encouraged to display their culture for the benefit of the dominant group whose culture is the standard against which other cultures are measured. The student from the dominant group can frown and nod their heads just like in a stage play and will later claim to understand better and have interpretation for some of the behaviours and practices of pupils from minority groups. The children from the dominant group are not encouraged to observe other cultures and societies or to study them with sympathy and imagination. They always place them against the standard (their own culture) and thus fail to develop respect for other cultures. The dominant groups approach the world on their own terms, expecting it to adjust to them and seeing no reason why they should adjust to it. Multiculturalism to the dominant groups means 'Now we know something about you. This is what you must do to fit in

with our ways.' Multiculturalism is guilty of trying to rip minority group children from their own cultures, failing to enable them to enrich, refine and take a broader view without losing their roots.

In South Africa, multiculturalism has been conceived as the celebration of lifestyles that will magically achieve the goals of cultural tolerance and intercultural understanding. Naidoo (1996) argues that in South Africa, multiculturalism allows for the acknowledgement of differences among learners. Carrim (1998) supports this view by pointing out Zulu kids are expected to be representative and loyal to Zulu culture and the fact that a student may be living all his life in an urban area, is immersed in Westernised lifestyles of rap music, denim jeans, fast foods and shopping at urban malls, gets ignored, since the Zulu is not supposed to be into these sorts of activities. He is expected to be able to do 'gumboot dance' and 'indlamu' for the benefit of the members of other cultures. Being African means that one represents or is an ambassador of other Africans who are otherwise not in that school. It is neglected that most pupils who move to desegregated schools come mainly from middle class backgrounds with very little knowledge of the groups they are supposed to be representing. The same happens to Indians in previously white schools. They are expected, in the name of multiculturalism, to wear saris and bring samoosas to class parties. These attempts at multiculturalism negatively reinforce stereotypes and differences. This form of multiculturalism also portrays identity and culture as static, failing to recognise the effects of relocation and acculturation brought about by encountering new cultures with the result that culture changes all the time.

A very thorny factor about multiculturalism in South Africa is that it is very similar to apartheid ideology in that it expounds the politics of difference. Carrim (1998) reminds us that Verwoerd

used cultural difference between 'the Bantu' and 'European' as a justification for segregation and the establishment of apartheid education. The link between race and culture is not new in South Africa. Cross and Mkhwanzi (quoted in Carrim, 1998) argue that apartheid is an extreme form of multiculturalism. Schools in South Africa had been segregated along racial lines. There had to be desegregation which meant children from all races could go to schools of their choices. We have been rubbing shoulders and locking horns so many times with race and racism and the sudden surge of culture raises suspicion. Prior to desegregation, there were white schools with Greeks, Italians, English, Afrikaners but there was no multicultural education. They were treated as if they were culturally homogenous. In Indian schools, there were Tamils, Muslims, Hindi and Christians who were culturally homogenous. The coloureds who are made up of Malays, Muslim and Christians had culturally homogenous schools (Carrim 1998). School desegregation somehow brought children from other race groups and this upset cultural homogeneity which appears to be linked to race, according to multiculturalists. Clearly the problem is not culture. In white schools, there were whites who had different cultures going to the same school. This was the position in Indian, Coloured and African schools. The issue should not be clouded because whatever is taking place in desegregated schools has race as the driving force and not culture as multiculturalists claim.

2.3 *Antiracism*

Vally and Dalamba (1999) see antiracism as an approach that gained credibility and momentum as a result of the failure of the assimilationist perspective and the limited nature of multiculturalism's focus on prejudice and attitudes. Troyna in May (1999) argues that

multiculturalism is an irredeemably 'deracialised' discourse of schooling, an educational approach which reifies culture and cultural difference, and which fails to address the central issue of racism within society. Multiculturalists have been accused of trying to contain the political and economic interests in the UK. Naidoo (1996) points out that the critics of multiculturalists suggested that multiculturalism was designed to contain militancy, defuse social conflict and maintain social order. Put crudely, the multiculturalists were perceived to be trying to distract minorities from the core problems that affect them in their daily lives. The multiculturalists were seen as being guilty of trying to beautify and garnish the plight of the minority groups by making them view their problem with less hostility. Multiculturalism was criticized for obscuring issues of disadvantage and structural inequalities and not really directed at providing minorities with access to power and improvement in opportunities.

The antiracists suggested a more active and oppositional form of pedagogy and curriculum even to the point of being aggressive. Anti-racists expounded overt opposition to racism. They argued that the existence of racism must be acknowledged and challenged actively. This was a clear departure from the multiculturalists who tacitly denied the existence of race. Anti-racists understand that eliminating racism requires the restructuring of power relationships in the economic, political and cultural institutions of the society and creating new conditions for interpersonal interactions (Vally and Dalamba 1999). Anti-racism goes beyond opposing overt attitudes, practices and customs but also insists on opposing subtle racism, stereotypes and patronising attitudes. Antiracism does not look at racism as an individual problem but locates it in the structures, policies and beliefs of everyday life (Naidoo 1996).

Anti-racism tends to be preoccupied with downgrading and vilifying multiculturalism as if the emphasis is on debating rather than finding an approach that would help policy-makers in designing intervention strategies in desegregated schools. Anti-racism lays far more emphasis on race and sees only the roles of power and prejudice in our lives. Katz (in Modgil et.al 1986) identifies seven significant areas in a person's life: personal, sexual, ethnic or racial, social class, provincial and cultural. Antiracism has been accused of overemphasizing race and only limited itself to power relations between black and white with factors such as culture, gender, geographical origin relegated to the peripheries. The anti-racist approach goes on to portray the whites as the culprits or perpetrators and blacks as helpless victims. This was a reaction to the fact that anti-racists perceived multiculturalism as having led to programmes that were based on assumptions that involve blaming the victim (Naidoo 1996). The antiracists opposed this and strongly attacked whites, the racists and protected blacks, the victims. Parekh in Modgil et.al. (1986) lashes out at anti-racists and argues that the so-called anti-racist education is likely to be either not education at all but anti-racist propaganda, or is in substance little different from multicultural education as outlined by multiculturalists. Other multiculturalists acknowledged the flaws in multiculturalism and tried to make improvements.

2.4 *Critical multiculturalism and critical anti-racism*

Both multiculturalists and anti-racists realised that their stances needed refinement. The multiculturalists acknowledged that some of the criticisms levelled against them especially by the anti-racists were justifiable and this made them start working towards something better. Even the supporters of multiculturalism realised this. May (1998) argues that over the years, multicultural education has promised much and delivered little. The proponents have been

arguing that multicultural education and the associated notion of cultural pluralism can accomplish all manner of things. Multiculturalism has been touted as the best educational means of addressing and redressing long standing patterns of differential achievement for minority students. He concludes that multicultural education has had a largely negligible impact to date on the life chances of minority students, the inherent monoculturalism of school practice, and the wider processes of power relations and inequality.

On the other hand, the anti-racists also acknowledge their emphasis of colour racism (black versus white). Anti-racists have noted that they are reductive and essentialist. Their focus on colour has blinded them to new forms of racism. The focus has been so much on colour that the former equation 'Racism = power + prejudice' has been neglected. Antiracists have had to move a bit towards multiculturalists in an attempt to avoid reductionism and oversimplifications apparent especially in British anti-racism.

Both approaches have adopted 'critical' to signify their changed status. Both approaches have not discarded the core beliefs but have merely made changes to address the glaring imperfections that draw criticisms. For instance, the multiculturalists still believe that for people to understand and tolerate each other, they must know about each other's culture while the anti-racists still believe that assertive attacks should be made on racist behaviours.

In South Africa, desegregation of schools is not a very old event and not much has been written about the approaches followed in schools. The few researchers like Naidoo (1996, Vally and Dalamba (1999) Carrim (1998) and others claim that the majority of schools follow the assimilationist and multiculturalist approaches. It is disturbing to learn that some schools would

opt for a segregated approach if they were allowed. It is equally disturbing that Carrim (1998) notes and expresses disappointment that four years after desegregation, there is still no nationally instituted anti-racist programme or package which has been put into place, there are no structured, co-ordinated programmes to help teachers cope with multi-racial/cultural/lingual ability classrooms and there are no nationally or provincially co-ordinated programmes for students to develop anti-racist, anti-sexist anti-discrimination awareness or consciousness in the formal workings of the school. Carrim (1998) also strongly contends that critical anti-racism is appropriate for South Africa as he believes that it would pierce the bipolarity of whites versus black and thereby get to grips with the various and varying ways in which racism is experienced within and across racialised groups of people. Anti-racism would still carry its emphasis on power dimensions and would also maintain the focus on macro socio-economic and political forces and the ways in which they intersect with and influence people's individual lives.

Carrim and Soudien (1999) in supporting Carrim's (1998) argument claim that there is no evidence in South African data of the existence of a critical multi-culturist orientation. May (1999) acknowledges that academic debates about multicultural education continue to be preoccupied principally with its implications for developed western nation-states. This suggests that in South Africa, we must be wary of joining the Ivory Tower debates which the first world countries indulge in. South Africa is different from the European and American countries in some ways. For instance, in South Africa, there are very few desegregated schools and the majority of schools remain African. The Africans are the majority group and this situation is inverted in desegregated schools. We cannot import approaches from other countries as they are. Maybe we should take lessons from our neighbours like Zimbabwe whose situation closely resembles ours in South Africa. While Carrim and Soudien (1999) forcefully argue for the

adoption of critical anti-racism, Naidoo (1996) contends that a more appropriate approach in the South African context is one that bridges the gap between the multiculturalism and anti-racism. The need to affiliate to either of the two is a luxury that would better be left to first world countries and in South Africa critical antiracial multiculturalism would perhaps, be more appropriate.

CHAPTER THREE

RESEARCH METHODS AND METHODOLOGY

3.1 RESEARCH PROBLEM AND PERSONAL INTEREST

In 1996, all schools were expected to open their doors for all learners regardless of race. The process of desegregation was already in progress even before legislation was passed to that all schools had to desegregate. The researcher was particularly intrigued by the process of desegregation because in most first world countries, like America, which desegregated their schools a long time ago and the United Kingdom, which never institutionalised segregation, the problem of racism in schools is still far from being over. South Africa, a third world country has started the same process of desegregation. The investigator (an African teacher) wanted to understand better how South Africa was dealing with this elusive process and particularly how South African students were viewing desegregation and integration. The media has reported serious racial conflict and violence in some desegregated schools but the importance of students' views about these processes are seldom solicited.

Also, desegregation is taking place in South Africa mainly as a result of the movement of students from black townships to better resourced, former white, Indian and coloured schools. This does not necessarily mean good prospects for black teachers and this has professionally threatened the investigator in this study. The new government policy of rationalisation and redeployment is based on student numbers against teacher numbers. A school with diminishing student numbers faces serious problems because teachers within such an institution have to be redeployed to understaffed schools and the movement will have to be away from urban areas to remote rural areas. This process is much more threatening to black teachers than any other race group because students are moving away from township schools. The movement is seen as a vote of no confidence in black teachers. The status and the ability of black teachers are severely compromised because the students who leave the township schools come from socio-economically better homes and go on to pay higher school fees to schools that are already well resourced. This serves to maintain or even widen the gap that already exists between black township schools and desegregated schools. The standard of education is higher in desegregated schools because of the more peaceful and productive climate in these areas which is conducive to learning. The areas around desegregated schools are characterised by comparatively lower crime levels, higher literacy levels, lower unemployment levels and other favourable factors. These characteristics lure diligent, intelligent and well-behaved learners away from township schools to suburban schools. The result is that most desegregated schools produce better examination results and their performance is not affected because they get the cream of the black students. On the other hand, black schools remain with average and below average students. In some cases, students gain

admission to some township schools with fraudulent reports. These factors condemn and relegate black schools, black teachers and townships to the lowest rung of the education ladder. The status quo is maintained: desegregated schools with sound discipline, good scholastic results, higher teacher morale and higher parental involvement as against depressed conditions in township schools. This drives students away from black schools and encourages communities to avoid and despise black teachers.

The investigator wanted to hear from students their own views about conditions in their schools as a result of having different races in the same school.

3.2 RESEARCH METHODOLOGY

A broadly qualitative methodology was used in the study. This methodology had for a long time been neglected in favour of quantitative research in education. The investigator in this study followed the emerging trend of studying educational phenomena qualitatively. In this study, great care has to be taken in generalising from the findings as the samples used were not obtained by strict sampling methods and could therefore, not be assumed to be statistically representative of the schools' student populations. No statistical test of significance was used in the analysis of results.

3.2.1. WHAT IS QUALITATIVE RESEARCH?

It is very difficult to explain what qualitative research is without conjuring up quantitative research. The best way to explain qualitative research would be to show how it differs

from quantitative research. Merriam (1988) echoes this by pointing out that in defining a phenomenon, it is often helpful to point out what it is not. Wiseman (1974) makes a curious analogy between qualitative methodology and the investigation carried out by detectives. She claims that qualitative research is similar to the way detectives solve murder mysteries where they start with a few clues, question persons connected with the case, develop hunches, begin to see the picture of what happened, look for evidence pro and con, elaborating or modifying the picture until finally the unknown is known.

A common definition of qualitative research is that it is anything that is not quantitative, that is any research where findings are not arrived at by statistical or other quantifiable means of measurement or comparison. The most important difference between quantitative and qualitative research is the way in which each tradition treats data. In quantitative methodology, variables and variables categories are isolated and defined. These variables are linked together to frame hypotheses before the data are collected.

In contrast, the qualitative researcher begins with defining very general concepts, which as the research progresses change their definition. Rather than testing preconceived hypotheses, qualitative research aims to generate hypotheses and theories from the data that emerge. (This is known as grounded research.) This is an attempt to avoid the imposition of a previous and possibly inappropriate, frame of reference on the subjects of the research.

Brammen (1995) asserts that qualitative research is said to look through a wide lens, searching for patterns of inter-relationships between a previously unspecified set of

concepts, while quantitative research looks through a narrow lens at a specified set of variables. Brammen further argues that in qualitative methodology, researchers use themselves as the instruments, attending to their own cultural assumptions as well as to the data. In qualitative research, the process of analysis occurs simultaneously with the process of data collection. In focusing on the processes of social interaction, qualitative research involves the ongoing collection of data and not on investigations at discrete points as is the case with quantitative research. The qualitative researcher seeks to achieve imaginative insights into the respondents' social worlds and to do this, the investigator is expected to be flexible and reflexive and yet somehow manufacture distance. In quantitative methodology the instrument is a pre-determined and finely-tuned technological tool which allows for much less flexibility, imaginative input and reflexivity. Vulliamy, Lewin and Stephens (1990) assert that qualitative research sees human actions and institutions as social constructions created by people rather than as the product of external forces which mould individuals in ways, which can be predicted following the canons of positivist social science enquiry. Qualitative research seeks to understand human behaviour by observing and interacting with people in order to be able to construct the social world as they construct it. Qualitative research seeks to predict behaviour by identifying the meanings and interpretations people place on events, and the relationships and institutions in which they occur. Qualitative research has its strengths and weaknesses too.

3.2.2 THE STRENGTHS OF QUALITATIVE RESEARCH

Qualitative research is significant both socially and educationally because it deals with real social and educational issues which are important to society or the participants in the research project. The society benefits from getting a better understanding of real issues affecting them. Crossley and Vulliamy (1996) see qualitative research as providing descriptions and accounts of the processes of social interaction in natural settings. Culture, meanings and processes are emphasized rather than variables, outcomes and products. The theories and ideas are established in real contexts and working and this is why qualitative research has contextual precision. The confounding variables are allowed to play their roles in a natural setting and the resulting complexities and ambiguities are supposed to reflect or portray accurately the realities of the social world. Qualitative research is not supposed to simplify social issues but it is designed to address vital research questions and allows relevant and important issues to surface. Qualitative research aims at being holistic. It does not break a phenomenon into parts but looks at it as a whole and this is very important as some valuable information gets lost when a phenomenon is broken into parts as the whole is bigger than its component parts. Qualitative research attempts to allow the researcher to learn first hand about the social world and to get close to the data and to understand the definitions, concepts and meanings that participants attach to social situations (Burgess1985). Qualitative research can be an indispensable approach when the focus is on actual implementation of policies in schools and thus assessing the points at which policy and practice converge and diverge (Vulliamy, Lewis and Stephens1990).

3.2.3 THE WEAKNESSES OF QUALITATIVE RESEARCH

Qualitative research relies on subjective interpretations of social reality held by individuals and groups. This paradigm acknowledges that different people draw different meanings from different social contexts and experiences. This makes the social world complex and also difficult to formulate rules, regulations and laws. While quantitative research has been accused of lacking flexibility and imagination, qualitative research has a lot of flexibility and imagination to the point of being so fluid as to lack shape and form, or argument and analysis. Generalisability is an essential component of research if the aim is to organise and simplify until the truth is reached.

Qualitative research can be unreliable. Claims for reliability have been made by some qualitative researchers. There is often an inherent contradiction between subjectivity and reliability and how qualitative researchers make claims for reliability is a wonder. Subjectivity is directly responsible for the lack of reproducibility in qualitative research. Qualitative research is often seen as unreliable in that generalisations cannot firmly be made from a smaller sample to a larger population. This study has nonetheless used largely qualitative research methods as these were considered most appropriate to the aim and purpose of the study.

3.3 APPROACH

3.3.1 CASE STUDY

Case studies have been defined by Stake (1988) as the study of bounded systems.

Three case study schools were picked from the North Durban Region in KwaZulu Natal. All these schools were Secondary Schools with grades 8-12 and were mixed in that they had both boys and girls. One was a school in a white area (ex NED) and previously catered for whites only.

Another school was in an Indian area (ex HOD) and previously catered for Indians only. The third school was in a previously coloured area (ex HOR) and used to admit coloureds only. In all these schools, one grade 11 class was used for the study.

3.3.2 ADVANTAGES OF THE CASE STUDY

A case study is useful in educational research because it deals with real issues and can provide a deeper understanding of the issues that are being studied. The issue of desegregation is real and so are the problems associated with it. Because case studies are intensive, they allow the researcher to gain insights into people's values, behaviours and attitudes. Each of the three schools will be treated as an individual unit with character, totality and boundary and not something that can simply be represented by a score. The case study will acknowledge that each of the three schools is a complex dynamic system and the aim will be to understand its complexity.

The use of case studies will enable the investigator to compare and contrast constituent cases so as to isolate common themes which will open the possibility for designing an intervention strategy.

3.3.3 DISADVANTAGES OF CASE STUDIES

Although the investigator carried out a study in three former education departments

(ex NED, ex HOR and ex HOD), no claims can be made that a school represented the department to which it previously belonged. The grade 11 classes studied in the schools in this study cannot be assumed to represent all schools in KZN. Case studies however, serve as a good way of gaining knowledge or understanding about that particular case. There is no guarantee that similar research would produce identical findings, which should be the case with quantitative research.

MacDonald and Walker (1975) argue that there is a problem of the researcher becoming involved in the issues, events or situations under study. In this study, the researcher as a teacher himself, was and is directly affected. He cannot play the role of a cold, distant and objective investigator. The investigator usually chooses issues that interest and affect him or her. Because of this, the problem will be that at times, the audience will be unable to distinguish data from the researcher's interpretation of data. This is why case studies are seen as providing a biased view or even distorted picture of the way things are. The investigator has his own suspicions and ideas about desegregation which might be inadvertently communicated to the respondents.

Case study research is an encroachment on other people's lives. The schools, teachers and students will in many ways be affected by this study. In some cases, people see case studies as a waste of time, in that they tend to be limited to making statements and are sometimes not taken seriously as they might represent the researcher's own views.

A lot of time is consumed by case studies but the benefits do not seem to match the time used. Guba and Lincoln (1981) argue that too much time is taken to produce a case study and the

product may be deemed too lengthy, too detailed or too involved for policy-makers to read and use. Case studies can oversimplify or exaggerate a situation, leading the reader to erroneous conclusions about the actual state of affairs. Case studies also seduce readers into thinking that case studies are accounts of the whole. They tend to masquerade as a whole when in fact they are but a part-a slice of life.

3.4 METHODS

3.4.1 QUESTIONNAIRES

A 17-item questionnaire (see appendix A) was drawn up at the start of the fieldwork. The respondents had to either agree or disagree to each of the statements in the questionnaire. A not sure option was also provided between these two responses. Telephonic appointments were made with schools to administer questionnaires. A questionnaire was given to each respondent in a grade 11 class that was made available to the researcher. There were 30 respondents from an ex HOR school, 23 in an ex HOD school, and 21 in an ex NED school, and a total of 74. The questionnaire was completed individually and anonymously in around half an hour, which is the duration of periods in most schools. The investigator was available throughout the completion of the questionnaire to assist respondents who might have problems with certain aspects of the questionnaire. It must be pointed out that the questionnaire was only used to provide background information and to provoke further questions for an interview. The questionnaire was not going to be analysed statistically.

3.4.1.1 ADVANTAGES OF THE QUESTIONNAIRE

The questionnaire permits a wide coverage at a minimum expense of time and money. In this study, the investigator administered a questionnaire to 74 respondents in just 90 minutes. Two schools were seen on the same day and the third one, the following day. The questionnaire is a useful method of collecting data, which can be obtained in no other way. The questionnaire can be posted to people that are difficult to contact. A questionnaire's wider coverage makes for greater reliability in the results by promoting the selection of a larger and more representative sample and because of its impersonal nature, the questionnaire may elicit more candid and objective replies and therefore more valid responses. A questionnaire allows for uniformity and ensures that answers are more comparable.

3.4.1.2 DISADVANTAGES OF THE QUESTIONNAIRE

The questionnaire appears to be simple and it may be abused as it appeals to an amateur investigator. There is usually a low response rate and this affects the validity of results. Bias may arise from the respondent's lack of understanding of the questions or resentment may be felt at the interference in another person's personal affairs. Respondents can lie for various reasons and sometimes tell the researcher what they think s/he wants to read. In some cases respondents just decide not to respond to some items. The questionnaire cannot be used with illiterate groups. The questionnaire is impersonal and the respondent may have little interest in a particular problem and may just answer the questionnaire indiscriminately. The questions may be misinterpreted and such misinterpretation may be

almost impossible to detect. Some questions may be too long and time-consuming.

3.4.2 FOCUS GROUP INTERVIEWS

A 25-item interview schedule was subsequently drawn up (see appendix b). The interviews were semi-structured and most of the questions were a follow-up to the questionnaire responses. The interview items sought to probe further and throw more light on the questionnaire responses. A group of 6 respondents was obtained from each school for face to face focus group interviews. A tape recorder was used to record the interview sessions in all three schools and each interview session lasted about 45 minutes.

3.4.2.1 THE STRENGTHS OF THE INTERVIEWS.

The interviews provided extra information to the interviewer. In the interviews that were carried out, the investigator not only obtained verbal responses from the interviews, he also got a chance of interacting with the interviewees and observed how they behaved towards each other. The investigator got a chance of observing the non-verbal cues that were shown by the interviewees as they answered questions. The investigator could then get a chance of measuring the congruence, or lack thereof, between what was said and what he saw. The investigator got a chance of feeling the general atmosphere in the whole school. Interviews are very helpful because interviewees can be asked to clarify or give examples whenever necessary and the interviewees can ask the interviewer to give more explanations. The interview is a conversation between an interviewer and an interviewee or a group of interviewees and this makes it a very easy and common social phenomenon (Guba and

Lincoln 1981). For instance, in the interviews that were carried out, the conversation flowed as in normal daily life and the respondents were not too conscious of the process that was taking place. Interviews yield a holistic and rich account of a phenomenon and are very useful in investigating complex social units consisting of multiple variables. For instance, in the study that was conducted, factors such as admission principles, curriculum changes and democratic participant bodies were investigated and had to be linked to racial desegregation.

Interviews, according to Burgess(1982) are very useful in finding out what is 'in and on' someone else's mind. For instance, the students' perceptions, feelings, thoughts and intentions cannot be directly observed. We also cannot observe behaviours that took place at some previous point in time and the interviews thus, come in handy.

3.4.2.2. THE WEAKNESSES OF INTERVIEWS

Most weaknesses of interviews arise from the fact that interviews are face -to-face encounters . This becomes more complex in a situation where the subject under study is as sensitive and difficult to handle as race is. The interviews can provide problematic responses for a number of reasons. The interviews try to respond in such a way as to not offend or try to please the investigator. Respondents often tend to give what they think are appropriate responses rather than sticking to old fashioned honesty. It must be pointed out that the investigator in this study was black and the interviewees were Indians, Blacks, Whites and Coloureds and the responses could have been wittingly or unwittingly designed for consumption by a

black investigator. It was also inevitable for the respondents to avoid questions which were racially sensitive especially in a country like South Africa where race has been an important factor in policy formulation and also given that there have been extravagant media reports about conflict and violence following after school desegregation. In this study, focus group interviews were used and, because races were mixed in these groups, respondents might have been conscious about giving appropriate responses, which might not cause animosity between themselves as classmates of different races. Sometimes the interviewees tended to talk at the same time if they found a question interesting and it became difficult to hear when playing back the tape.

The use of the tape recorder tends to create suspicion and uneasiness about what the motives of the investigator are. For instance, in this study the respondents might have suspected that the investigator wanted to spy on them in order to tell school authorities or create another scandal in the newspaper. They even avoided using one another's names. The tape recorder exacerbates the difficulty of getting honest answers from the interviewees and the halting of the conversation to change the tapes disturbs the smooth flow of the interview.

Interviews are time consuming and expensive. For instance, the investigator had to travel to each and every one of the three schools to conduct interviews and the tape recorder had to be brought for every session. The cost could have been higher if more schools had been included in the study.

3.4.3 BENEFITS OF THE STUDY

This study combined two research methods, a questionnaire and the focus group interviews. To some critics, this might be seen as a reflection of the investigator being torn between qualitative and quantitative paradigms. However, the questionnaires were only used in an indicative manner to generate further questions for interviews and were not based on statistical sampling. The questionnaire covered a wider spectrum of the student population while the interviews provided more in-depth study of the respondents. These two methods complemented each other. The lack of depth and the limited interaction in questionnaires was compensated for by the interviews while the smaller numbers in interviews were made up for by the questionnaire.

While this study was conducted in only three schools, quite a number of problems and issues might well be similar in many schools. The differences that exist between schools, which belonged to different apartheid education departments, were also shown by this study.

3.4.3 LIMITATIONS OF THE STUDY

The main limitation of qualitative research is the lack of reliability. In this study, both the schools and the students chosen were not representative of the student population because

the sampling procedures used were not strict. No quantitatively reliable generalisations could be made from the findings. The sample schools were convenient to the researcher. The investigator in this study chose schools which he was confident that he would gain access to and these schools were in close proximity and the investigator also had contacts in them. The grade 11 classes obtained were the ones that were available at the time the investigator arrived. Even for face to face interviews, teachers chose respondents to participate.

Another limitation was the possible role of the racial factor and the researcher's subjectivity. As pointed out earlier, the researcher was a black teacher. The interviewees came from different racial groups as the study sought to explore racial desegregation and integration. It was possible that the respondents could try to respond in such a way as to please or displease the black investigator. The responses could be what the students thought would be appropriate or inappropriate for the black interviewer.

Nevertheless, the strong emergence of qualitative research to study educational phenomena in third world countries is welcomed and the understanding that social sciences are different from natural sciences is a positive step.

CHAPTER FOUR

ANALYSIS AND INTERPRETATION OF QUESTIONNAIRE RESPONSES

4.1. INTRODUCTION.

The current survey sought to find out about racial desegregation and integration in schools from the point of view of the students. It was hoped that perceptions of students who have always belonged to the school and perceptions of students who have just joined the desegregated schools would be gathered. It was also hoped that after administering the questionnaire, some further questions would be provoked in the mind of the researcher and these questions would then be probed further in interviews that would follow the questionnaire. No scientific method was followed in choosing groups of students from three different schools. The researcher did not carry out this survey with the intention of making generalisations from the findings. No attempt was made to obtain samples that were accurately representative of school populations. Sampling procedures such as random sampling and other procedures were not used. The researcher did not intend to use statistical methods to arrive at conclusions. The survey was only administered to assist the researcher in the compilation of the interview schedule. Any grade 11 class that the school could make available to the researcher by the school would be acceptable to the researcher.

The questionnaire was administered to groups of students in three schools in the North Durban region of the province of KwaZulu Natal. These were Brettonwood, a former

House of Assembly (HOA) school which previously catered for white students only, Ganges, a former House of Delegates (HOD) school which was attended by Indian students only and Fairvale, a former House of Representatives (HOR) school which admitted coloured students only.

The table below shows the numbers of students who filled in the questionnaire by racial classification. The figures enclosed in brackets are percentages while the actual numbers are outside the brackets.

TABLE 1

| | Africans | Coloureds | Indians | Whites | N |
|-------------|----------|-----------|---------|---------|----------|
| Brettonwood | 14 [61] | 07 [30] | 01 [04] | 01 [04] | 23 [100] |
| Ganges | 23 [100] | 00 | 00 | 00 | 23 [100] |
| Fairvale | 03 [11] | 25 [89] | 00 | 00 | 28 [100] |
| Total | 40 [54] | 32 [43] | 01 [01] | 01 [01] | 74 [100] |

A number of questions arise from the racial composition of these samples.

Brettonwood is an ex-HOA school but it had only one white participant in the sample that was obtained. Do other classes have the same pattern or was this the only class that showed this pattern? If it was the only class what could have caused this trend? If not, why were there so few whites in a previously whites only school? A similar trend appeared at Ganges. In the sample obtained from this school, not one Indian student was part of the sample class. Does this occur in most classes? What are its causes?

Fairvale was different from these two other schools. It seemed to still preserve its pre-desegregation identity or perhaps this was the only class that had such a high percentage

of coloured students. What mechanisms were employed to keep the coloured student numbers so high at Fairvale? Clarifications to the above questions from the point of view of the students were sought in focus group sessions.

4.2 ATTITUDES TO RACIAL MIX IN CLASSES.

The responses to the statements: 'It is good in my opinion that my school has put learners of different races together' and 'There should be separate classes for learners from disadvantaged backgrounds' are shown by the two tables below.

TABLE 2a shows the responses to the statement 'it is good in my opinion that my school has put learners of different races together'.

TABLE 2a

| | AGREE | | | | NOT SURE | | | | DISAGREE | | | |
|-------------|---------|----------|--------|-------|----------|----------|--------|-------|----------|----------|--------|-------|
| | African | Coloured | Indian | White | African | Coloured | Indian | White | African | Coloured | Indian | White |
| Brettonwood | 86 | 100 | 100 | 100 | 14 | - | - | - | - | - | - | 100 |
| Fairvale | 66 | 92 | - | - | - | - | - | - | 34 | 08 | - | - |
| Ganges | 82 | - | - | - | 09 | - | - | - | 09 | - | - | - |

TABLE 2b shows the responses to the statement 'There should be separate classes for learners from disadvantaged backgrounds'.

TABLE 2b

| | AGREE | | | | NOT SURE | | | | DISAGREE | | | |
|-------------|---------|----------|--------|-------|----------|----------|--------|-------|----------|----------|---------|-------|
| | African | Coloured | Indian | White | African | Coloured | Indian | White | African | Coloured | Indians | White |
| Brettonwood | 7 | 28 | 100 | - | 21 | - | - | - | 72 | 72 | - | 100 |
| Fairvale | - | 16 | - | - | - | 4 | - | - | 100 | 80 | - | - |
| Ganges | 04 | - | - | - | 13 | - | - | - | 03 | - | - | - |

The responses clearly show that students overall support desegregation. Students feel that it is good that their school has put learners of different races together. The respondents were strongly opposed to the idea of putting learners from disadvantaged backgrounds in separate classes. Despite the problems associated with desegregation and the fact that it is only three years since schools were able to desegregate, the respondents showed a high level of agreement with the process of allowing students of different races to go to the same school. However, one third at Fairvale disagree. A fuller investigation into desegregation is needed.

The table below shows responses to the statement 'All learners must learn their mother tongue as one of their subjects'.

TABLE 3

| | AGREE | | | | NOT SURE | | | | DISAGREE | | | |
|-------------|---------|----------|--------|-------|----------|----------|--------|-------|----------|----------|--------|-------|
| | African | Coloured | Indian | White | African | Coloured | Indian | White | African | Coloured | Indian | White |
| Ganges | 73 | - | - | - | 27 | - | - | - | - | - | - | - |
| Fairvale | 33 | 60 | - | - | 67 | 20 | - | - | - | 20 | - | - |
| Brettonwood | 36 | 43 | - | 100 | 29 | - | - | - | 35 | 57 | 100 | - |

The responses to this statement are somewhat curious. Allowing students to learn their mother tongue as one of their subjects seems a positive change. It appears to indicate that the school acknowledges that it has admitted students from different race groups with different mother tongues and these differences are being taken into consideration. In KwaZulu Natal, the majority of students who have been admitted to the previously Coloured, Indian and white schools either have Zulu as their mother tongue or can speak Zulu. The learning of Zulu would enable these Zulu-speaking students to learn it as a subject. What makes these responses curious is that at Ganges where the respondents were 100% African, 27% of them expressed uncertainty about the need to learn their own mother-tongue as one of the subjects. At Fairvale 67% of African respondents were not sure about the need to learn Zulu as one of their subjects while 33% agreed with the need to learn Zulu. 60% of the coloured respondents registered agreement with the statement on the learning of the mother tongue while 40% were either not sure or disagreed. It would be interesting to find out why so many coloured students agreed with this statement because their mother tongues English and Afrikaans

are learnt as subjects in their school. At Brettonwood, only 36% of the African respondents agreed with the need to learn Zulu as one of the subjects while 64% fell into the not sure and disagree categories. 43% of the coloured respondents agreed with this statement while 57% disagreed. The low agreement level in this item suggests that new learners are in favour of being 'assimilated' or have internalised being assimilated into their new school. This suspicion is reinforced by the low agreement levels especially by the African respondents whose mother tongues are not learnt at their new schools. This statement clearly needs further investigation through the interviews. In the follow-up interviews, there will be further exploration of this item. The reasons for some respondents' opposition to the learning of mother tongues will be sought in interviews.

Another statement that examined the readiness of students to assimilate new students or the readiness of new students to be assimilated into their new schools was 'New learners must adapt to what has always been done at this school'. The responses to this statement are shown by the Table 4 below.

TABLE 4

| | AGREE | | | | NOT SURE | | | | DISAGREE | | | |
|-------------|---------|----------|--------|-------|----------|----------|--------|-------|----------|----------|--------|-------|
| | African | Coloured | Indian | White | African | Coloured | Indian | White | African | Coloured | Indian | White |
| Brettonwood | 100 | 86 | - | 100 | - | 14 | 100 | - | - | - | - | - |
| Ganges | 82 | - | - | - | 18 | - | - | - | - | - | - | - |
| Fairvale | 67 | 88 | - | - | 33 | 08 | - | - | - | - | - | - |

The agreement level to this statement was very high. At Brettonwood and Ganges, not one respondent was opposed to adapting to what has always been done at their school. At these two schools which previously admitted white and Indian students respectively, it appeared that a vast majority of students wanted to adapt to what had been done in an all white and an all-Indian school despite the fact that both schools are now predominantly African. This further strengthens the suspicion of assimilation raised by the responses to the learning of

the mother tongue. Further clarification will be sought in follow-up interviews.

Another statement that examined the students readiness to be assimilated or see others assimilated into the school was 'learners should be excused from wearing a school uniform if it is in conflict with their cultural practices'. The table below shows responses to this statement in the three chosen schools.

TABLE 5

| | AGREE | | | | NOT SURE | | | | DISAGREE | | | |
|-------------|---------|----------|--------|-------|----------|----------|--------|-------|----------|----------|--------|-------|
| | African | Coloured | Indian | White | African | Coloured | Indian | White | African | Coloured | Indian | White |
| Brettonwood | 43 | 28 | - | - | 36 | 29 | - | - | 21 | 43 | 100 | 100 |
| Ganges | 39 | - | - | - | 13 | - | - | - | 48 | - | - | - |
| Fairvale | 33 | 64 | - | - | - | 16 | - | - | 67 | 20 | - | - |

The agreement level to this statement was not high. At Brettonwood, only 43% of the African respondents and 23% of the coloured respondents agreed with it. More than 50% of the African respondents and more than 70% of the coloured respondents fell into the 'not sure' and 'disagree' categories. At Ganges, only 39% agreed with this statement while more than 60% were either not sure or disagreed. At Fairvale, 33% of the African respondents and 64% of the coloured respondents agreed with this statement. 67% of the African respondents and 20% of the coloured respondents disagreed with this statement while 16% of the coloured respondents were not sure. It would appear that most respondents are so preoccupied with sameness even to the extent of erring in pursuit of sameness. The respondents' opposition to excusing some students from wearing the school uniform if it is in conflict with their cultural practices might demonstrate a subconscious contempt for others' or their own cultural practices. This also suggests that some students are willing to lose their identities while some would like to see other students assimilated and rendered invisible. This statement will be explored further in the interview sessions that will follow.

The tables (6a and 6b) below show the responses to two principles on the admission of learners. The first one is the principle of 'first come first serve'.

Any learner who comes for admission while spaces are still available is admitted.

In the second one, preference is given to students from the school's surrounding area. Learners from the areas around the school are given first preference before considering learners from other areas.

TABLE 6A

| | AGREE | | | | NOT SURE | | | | DISAGREE | | | |
|-------------|---------|----------|--------|-------|----------|----------|--------|-------|----------|----------|--------|-------|
| | African | Coloured | Indian | White | African | Coloured | Indian | White | African | Coloured | Indian | White |
| Brettonwood | 67 | 96 | - | - | - | - | - | - | 33 | 04 | - | - |
| Ganges | 41 | - | - | - | 32 | - | - | - | 27 | - | - | - |
| Fairvale | 64 | 86 | 100 | - | 7 | 14 | - | 100 | 29 | - | - | - |

TABLE 6B

| | AGREE | | | | NOT SURE | | | | DISAGREE | | | |
|-------------|---------|----------|--------|-------|----------|----------|--------|-------|----------|----------|--------|-------|
| | African | Coloured | Indian | White | African | Coloured | Indian | White | African | Coloured | Indian | White |
| Fairvale | 100 | 76 | - | - | - | - | - | - | - | 24 | - | - |
| Ganges | 70 | - | - | - | 22 | - | - | - | 08 | - | - | - |
| Brettonwood | 93 | 43 | 100 | - | 7 | 14 | - | - | - | 43 | - | 100 |

The figures in the tables show that the agreement to both items was very high.

When one looks at these two items, one notices that a respondent is not supposed to agree with both statements as they are mutually exclusive. One statement

champions the importance of some form of selective admission based on geography while the other opts for not looking for any differentiation but simply admitting whoever comes first. A school cannot employ both practices simultaneously. The apparent favour for both practices demonstrates confusion inherent in surveys and also how difficult it is for students to make a choice between two clearly attractive principles. This vacillation between two choices is a manifestation of ambivalence that makes it difficult for a school to pin down what is good for students. Some schools cannot initiate changes for the fear of introducing changes that will not be accepted. These two principles and the students' choice need to be probed further in interviews that would be conducted and the contradictory nature of the choice can be explained and students can choose.

Students' perceptions of their teachers were generally positive. Only 3% agreed with the statement on teachers not welcoming learners from other race groups. This was encouraging and it suggested that in terms of the teaching profession at least, the prospects for racial integration are not as gloomy as most literature and media always suggest. Not one of the three schools registered an agreement level of more than 5% on this item. The responses to this item are illustrated by the table below.

TABLE 7

| | AGREE | NOT SURE | DISAGREE |
|-------------|-------|----------|----------|
| FAIRVALE | - | 4 | 96 |
| GANGES | 4 | 9 | 87 |
| BRETTONWOOD | 5 | 32 | 63 |

In the interviews that would be conducted, it would be interesting to find out why 32% of the respondents at Ganges were not sure on this item.

High agreement levels on the importance of training for teachers on handling racially mixed classes and the teachers' needs to understand better the different cultures of students in their classes were registered. The reasons for agreement with these items will be probed further in interviews particularly in the light of the responses to the previous question. Students' responses to the statements that their schools have deteriorated since opening doors to all learners and that their schools have instituted changes in line with the new multicultural situation showed a high level of uncertainty. These two statements required students to make comparisons of before and after desegregation. The high rate of not being sure may suggest that the respondents were not in these schools before desegregation. In the follow-up interviews, students will be required to confirm or disagree with this suspicion. The table below shows the students' responses to the item on the employment of more African teachers in these schools.

TABLE 8

| | AGREE | | | | NOT SURE | | | | DISAGREE | | | |
|-------------|---------|----------|--------|-------|----------|----------|--------|-------|----------|----------|--------|-------|
| | African | Coloured | Indian | White | African | Coloured | Indian | White | African | Coloured | Indian | White |
| Fairvale | - | 20 | - | - | 67 | 48 | - | - | 33 | 32 | - | - |
| Ganges | 57 | - | - | - | 17 | - | - | - | 26 | - | - | - |
| Brettonwood | 29 | 29 | - | - | 29 | 29 | 100 | - | 42 | 42 | - | 100 |

Responses to these items showed a huge bulk in the not sure and disagree columns. Even at Ganges where the agreement level was a little more than 50%, there was still 43% in the not sure and disagree columns. All race groups did not show much support for this statement and this warranted further exploration which will be done through the interviews.

Responses to the issue of proportional representation by race in the Representative Council of Learners (RCL), the teaching staff and the governing body showed support albeit not very convincing and this issue will be followed up in interviews. The respondents highly supported the idea of taking into consideration the interests of all learners when deciding on extra-mural activities. The respondents' ideas and suggestions of how this could be done will be pursued in interviews. Respondents also agreed with the statement that all learners were treated equally at their school.

4. CONCLUSION

Contrary to extravagant newspaper and magazine reports and generalisations about rife racism in desegregated schools, the results of this survey did not reveal insurmountable race problems at the level of ideas. There were obstacles of course such as the fact that in a previously Indian only school, such as Ganges, some classes were 100% African and in a previously white only school, such as Brettonwood, there was only one white student. To this extent, the results provide

evidence of the thinking of African students and their absorption of the dominant view of assimilation. It would appear that most 'desegregated' schools are not as desegregated as we always believe. The responses of whites and Indians at Brettonwood have been neglected because there was only one white student and one Indian student in the class in which the survey was administered. A 100% response level representing one person would be misleading.

The survey, however, provided the researcher with an initial idea of students' views on some issues. It also clearly pointed out the need for a further more involved and deeper form of interaction to clear some confusion. The researcher also needed to probe into areas where students were not sure and to explore some differences between schools.

CHAPTER FIVE

ANALYSIS AND INTERPRETATION OF INTERVIEW FINDINGS.

5.1 *INTRODUCTION*

Follow up focus group interviews with grade 11 students in three schools were conducted (Interview schedule reproduced in Appendix b). These interviews followed on earlier questionnaires, which had been given to the three schools. The interviews sought to probe further into some responses and obtain a deeper understanding of the views of pupils.

DESEGREGATION AND INTEGRATION

5.2.1 *QUESTIONNAIRE SAMPLES*

The questionnaire samples from the schools under study were not representative of the anticipated racial composition. This raised the suspicion that in desegregated schools, students might still re-segregate in their choice of classes. The principals might have given actual racial compositions of schools but the focus was on students' perceptions and that is why students were asked to comment on the racial composition of their schools in terms of whether the questionnaire samples reflected their schools' racial composition. In each school, interviewees were given the racial composition of the sample class that responded to the questionnaire. This was then followed by the question: does this reflect the racial composition of your school? In an ex HOD school, where the questionnaire respondents were 100% African, a number of responses was obtained. A coloured interviewee said:

Well can I just say something here? I don't really see it as a it should be a bad thing to have 100% Africans in a class. As we all know, Africa was a black continent, these people were originally here. So the black man was always here and still in the country a large population is still black people. So therefore, we can expect a higher number of pupils to be black.

In an ex NED school where the questionnaire respondents were predominantly African, a response similar to the one made above was made but the economic circumstances of South Africa were also included. A white student at this school said:

I think in South Africa, there are more blacks. The percentage of blacks in South Africa is very high. And also if you're looking at whites, a lot of them are well off. They go to schools like Hilton, Kearsney and other expensive schools.

In an ex HOR school, the questionnaire sample suggested that there might be more coloured students than any other race group. The question that was asked was: how does your school manage to preserve its pre-desegregation identity? One student simply pointed out that their school was in a coloured area and first preference was given to coloureds. Another student who did not feel comfortable with old-fashioned honesty and lack of sophistication in this response eloquently and tactfully echoed the fact that coloureds got first preference. She said:

No I don't really think so. I think it is because we live in wings (referring to separate residential areas). They take people who are always at school unlike blacks for example, they live in Umlazi. So when there are fights and strikes in buses, it is difficult for such people to be at school everyday. So people who are local get preference. Not that coloureds get preference because there are black

people who live in Wentworth afterall. If you can prove that you are from Wentworth, Merewent and Brighton Beach, you are given first preference. But what happens is that most of the people who live in the area are coloured.

In an ex HOD school interviewees were asked what they attributed the imbalances of races in classes to. One African student attributed the imbalances to intellectual differences between African and other race groups. He said:

Sometimes it (imbalances) is caused by the course they choose. Some black students are afraid to do computers because they think computers are difficult and they go to things like T.D. (Technical Drawing) whereas on the other hand, other races prefer computer studies. In this school, only T.D. classes are mainly boys and are black.

This comment reveals an often-overlooked factor, that of intra-racial segregation. There is considerable negativity among Africans themselves about being African. This sometimes presents itself as a strong desire to be closer to other race groups than to fellow Africans. This has its roots in Apartheid where policies and practices placed an African on the lowest rung of the ladder. The Africans were portrayed as inferior to other people, which relegated them to a position not far from apes. The propensity of some fellow African to exalt themselves above other Africans is a normal reaction of trying to improve oneself and escape from a group traditionally associated in South Africa with 'darkness', 'primitiveness', 'inferiority', 'savagery' and 'lawlessness'. In the past, black has always been treated as an aberration from normal, white. Blacks have always been encouraged to deny and run away from their identity and emulate other race groups. They had to demonstrate that they were intelligent (a rare feature among black people if not totally incompatible with blackness) as is the case with the comment. In some instances, blacks were encouraged to use skin lightening

creams that were designed to lighten black skins, which most unfortunately destroyed the faces of most black people. Black people also used hair gels and shampoos that made them look more like lighter skinned race groups and increased the distance between them and their inhuman neighbours, the apes.

5.2.2 *STANDARDS*

There has been a lot of sound and fury generated by school desegregation and a perceived plummeting of standards. Interviewees were asked the question: 'In your opinion, has your school improved after desegregation or has it got worse?' A variety of responses were evoked by this question. An Indian student in an ex HOD school had this to say:

Well, I must say things are better now that we have a new principal. People used to come to school without a tie and we were told to dress up like and we are doing that and so the school has improved.

This observation was echoed by a coloured student in an ex HOD who put it like this:

It was gone worse but now that we got a principal, it's better. But it wasn't because of blacks being here. It was because of the shortage of teachers and not having a principal and all that. To be honest, most of the children are being outlawed (flout the rules and regulations) and the schools is being given a bad name and ja you just get it.

Some students were blunt about their perceptions of the school standards. An Indian student in an ex HOD school said:

The standard of education has dropped. From what it once was, it has now dropped drastically. The results have gone worse. The teachers teach us to work together as a class unit as one nation so to speak but some teachers really don't bother about that.

In an ex NED school, an African student made this observation:

I think it has gone worse. Our school used to be in the top when you look at schools. Our school used to be up there but now that many sports have been introduced, people are not committed and the school is going down.

The dropping of standards was not attributed to desegregation by most interviewees. One student located the problem in the new government policies. One such policy, is the abolition of corporal punishment which is highly supported by Harber in an unpublished paper, where he argues that more democratically organized schools are more effective than traditional, authoritarian schools because they can contribute to a culture of peace and non-violence in the wider society through the learning of democratic values and behaviours. A white student at an ex HED school contradicted this assertion:

But we can't blame the people, I mean every school has a problem pupil. It is the lack of discipline that has been allowed to be in force and the one-minute you let people behave like that, the bad influence spreads and standards drop. They should have picked this. There are a lot of boys in the school who want corporal punishment back because it is over in five minutes and that's it instead of having to sit in detention for 20 hours or whatever. It is a total waste of time and you don't learn anything from it. You go back to strict discipline and the standards will change because when we had that discipline, the standards were high.

Another student in an ex HOD school cast doubt on the popular conception of a good or effective school.

He observed:

I don't really feel that the awards are very important. When you get an award, they say Ah! One student in 1982 got an award for jumping the highest. That's hogwash as far as I'm concerned. If you can have an award and say a team from our school did this or that, then we can really say this is a school that can progress. I mean a mixed team. Indians and blacks together.

The responses made by students showed a holistic outlook on standards. While adults almost always look at scholastic results, students tended to take a broader view. This also highlighted the subjective nature of 'standards', 'quality' and 'effectiveness'. Harber and Muthukrishna (1999) in an unpublished paper sum this up by pointing out that in South Africa, it is very difficult for most schools to say where effectiveness begins and ineffectiveness ends given the enormous variety of contexts, histories and combinations of problems. To some students, the standards conjured up an image of properly dressed school students in full uniform. Some unambiguously linked standards to the output, performance or production of the school. Some raised the dichotomy between individualism and a team. Individualism was located in the distant past which was the apartheid era and an assertion was made that a group was more important than an individual. The argument was stretched further to refer to a mixed team in desegregated schools. This meant that if only a particular race group excelled, a school could not pride itself on high standards. The winning team had to be representative of the school population. Students also portrayed an interesting connection between discipline and school effectiveness. It became clear that 'standards', 'quality' and 'effectiveness' are subjective terms and depend on the values and goals of the commentator.

5.2.3 ADAPTION AND ASSIMILATION

Students were also asked their views on the need for incoming race groups new to the school to adapt to what has always been done at their new school. An Indian student in a previously Indian high school made this statement:

I think if you go to a place, you must abide by the rules. You can't come in and break the rules; you know what I'm trying to say? You can't just break rules, you must abide them.

A white student in a formally white high school reiterated this point. He put it like this:

I agree with that (new learners must adapt to what has always been done at this school). I mean there's a certain culture in the school and if they come in with a different one which is lower, then they must pull it up to ours.

Another student in a previously coloured school made a comment similar to these. She said:

I don't think it's like really following what coloured students do. If I go to a place where they do this..... if I wanna be there, I'm gonna have to do what everybody else is doing in order to fit in, you know how can I say it? Because if everybody is coming from their own areas, they are doing their own thing, then it's gonna be chaos

The above responses subscribe to an assimilationist approach and a prominent feature is that they are all articulated by respondents who belong to the race that previously 'owned' the school. For instance, a white student in a formerly white school, an Indian student in a formerly Indian school and a coloured in a

formerly coloured school all support adaption. A number of dissenting views were made in all schools. A coloured student in an ex HOD school made this comment:

But rules are separate like rules, rules must always be followed but now when it comes to terms of like actually if they are asking you to change your lifestyle, to change your culture, to change the way you were brought up at home ... you know, then I think it shouldn't be done. I think when you come to school, you should actually feel at home because most of your life is spent at school.

An Indian student in an ex NED school subtly voiced her opposition like this:

We must maintain standards but the whole of South Africa is changing and somehow, we must also be prepared to change. We can't be the same always. What will happen if other people's standards are higher than our own?

A coloured student in a previously coloured high school said:

I don't think so (that new learners must adapt) I think the school must accommodate other people from other areas. People who come from other areas must give to the school and they must also take from the school. It must be a matter of give and take.

Another student in an ex HOD school observed:

At some schools, they don't allow you to school with your red strings and all that stuff. If you come to school, you like to go with your culture and you could know who you are. That helps.

Students in all schools acknowledged that in order to maintain order, some rules are needed. The interesting aspect is that some students seem to understand that rules, which govern institutions, can be modified so that they do not encroach on the culture of students and other stakeholders.

Although there was support for adaption and assimilation, many students also understand that desegregated schools must strive for unity in diversity.

5.2.4 *FEELING ABOUT SCHOOLS*

The questions: If you had a choice, would you remain at this school? Why? were asked to get an indication of the interviewees' levels of satisfaction with their present schools. A variety of responses was obtained from students. An African student in an ex NED school unequivocally stated:

I would certainly do cause the only thing I'm concerned about is that the school progress academically and in my school, we are progressing because we still get a 100% pass in matric. Despite the minor difficulties our school progresses.

Some students registered uncertainly about what they would do. One student in an ex HOD school who was not totally satisfied and at the same time uncertain said:

I'm not really sure about that, cause see I came here beginning of 1997. Since then, I've made a lot of things. As far as that is concerned, I'm very happy with my friends but you know with learning and stuff like that, I feel, I could be in a lot better situation. So it's like canceling each other because I've got friends, I've got company, I've got people who understand me in the school and then again, there is not so much of the work so it's sort of balancing.

The majority of students clearly pointed out that whatever hiccups they had, these had nothing to do with desegregation. Instead, the falling of standards was cited as a cause for dissatisfaction and the desire to leave the school. A white student in a previously white school openly made this statement:

I wouldn't (remain at this school) because I mean firstly, it's nothing to do with race but I mean if I had an opportunity, I would rather go to a school with better form of education because there are schools that have got a higher education than this one and if I had a chance, I would take it. For example, Kearsney College, they have a high education standard. I mean there, if you get less than 80%, they make you do it over again till you get it right. Most people get high marks because in the school, the teachers are one on one with the pupils. The teachers are dedicated and maybe paid well. There are high numbers there as well but because the pupils raise their education standards, they do well. If I could go to a school and do well then I want it.

An African student in the same school retorted like this:

Working hard is the key thing. If you are able to adjust yourself and focus in your goals and know that this is what I wanna do and I'll go to any lengths in trying to do that. There are so many things you can do rather than changing schools.

Another student in an ex HOD school was highly critical of the curriculum and blamed it for having rendered the school lifeless. He said:

I think the problem is with the curriculum. We are only doing subjects, we are not actually doing things that will train us. Like June, July holidays, we were at a leadership course in Howick and they had lectures. They just trained us on the basic life skills-mind skills, how to train your mind, how

to remember faces, how to be quicker with maths and stuff like that. I mean something so small can get us so active because when we were there, we were actually sharper than we are at school. We were just going through things and the environment was so different but here when we come to school, I tell you it's worse than a funeral because everybody is just like a zombie. I also feel that we need to look inside ourselves because if we want a change in the curriculum, we ourselves must change.

The point made by this student proves the belief that students know how they should be taught and also what they should learn. Meighan (1988) points out that the existing definitions of the situation appear to consider teaching as more important than learning and the teacher's activity as more central than the pupils', despite the official rhetoric of educational writing and debate that makes claims for the pupils' welfare as the central focus. The comment of the student above is a cry for the shift away from the teacher-centred, passive and authoritarian mode of transmission.

5.2.5 *INTERRACIAL CONTACT*

Students were asked how they got on with each other after school and on weekends. It came out that there wasn't much contact after school between different race group and this wasn't seen as a problem. The majority of interviewees indicated that contact between them was limited to school hours. Most students claimed to have friends from other race groups with little or no contact after school. One African student said:

After school, it's totally different, we're rushing home. Nobody gets together. We live in different places like most of the Indians live here, coloureds in Wentworth and we live in Umlazi. We have to catch buses to our homes.

This view was echoed by another student in an ex HOR school who said:

It's a problem for somebody who don't live in Wentworth. They live in other areas so you don't get to meet them after school. I'll tell you about myself, I don't get to see anybody after school.

Some interviewees, however, indicated that they met their friends even outside school hours. A coloured student in an ex HOR school said:

We got one another's phone numbers on the calculator. If you have a friend, you make an effort to go to their house or ask them to come to your house. When I see people after school, I greet them. Sometimes, we make an appointment to go to a movie or something.

One white student even extended this matter beyond the school. He claimed:

I have an African family down the road and I used to look after their children when I was in primary school. I still see them. As the saying goes 'Friends keep in touch with friends'.

It would appear that students in desegregated schools are trying to work together and make friends across racial lines. Desegregation that has taken place in schools has not been matched by a corresponding desegregation of residential areas. The rate at which school desegregation has taken place has been faster

and has occurred in a larger scale than residential desegregation. Desegregation of residential areas does not in any way bring about or force integration of residents. The schools are different, children are put together and are forced to interact on a daily basis and carry out certain duties together. The rate of desegregation of residential areas and the fact that there's hardly any racial integration in residential areas militates against what schools are trying to do in integrating different racial groups. Harber and Muthukrishma(1999) concur with this by pointing out that the school is the only place where racial tolerance could be learned, given that the pupils still lived in racially segregated areas. There can be desegregation and integration during school hours but it is back to segregation after school. In the same way, students make friends across racial lines during school hours and the school bell signals the end of friendship in the afternoon. The teachers' efforts and the students' efforts are hampered and will have to start from scratch the following morning. This is the daily routine and life in desegregated schools.

5.2.6 RACE PROBLEMS

Students were asked if they had any race problems in the school and how they dealt with them. Most students denied that there are any race problems and only indicated that there were normal minor differences of opinion. A white student, however, who was a school prefect in an ex NED school, had this to say:

I say I find that a bit of racism comes towards me. Not being racist myself, I find it comes from the African community here. I find the Africans are more racist. I don't know why because being a figure of authority, I treat everyone equal. A lot of them have an attitude that they are not gonna, I don't want to, I will not. What I have found is that I can apprehend an African pupil and they will treat me with total disrespect but then I get an African prefect to apprehend an African pupil and they don't have as many problems as I do.

This comment suggested that despite the portrayals of smooth and problem-free integration, desegregated schools could be crucibles in which potential danger resides as evidenced by the eruptions in Potgieterus and other schools. Another student in the same school who was an Indian prefect made this observation:

We do not have problems. If you treat everyone with respect, they will also treat you with respect.

I've never encountered any problems. And you must check it within yourself if you are leading by example because in order to be a leader you've got to have qualities.

These comments indicate the importance of training for students who are in leadership positions.

5.2.7 *TRAINING FOR TEACHERS*

Interviewees were asked if they felt that there was a need for teachers to be trained on how to handle racially mixed classes. Students identified some shortcomings in their teachers because of having been trained as teachers during the apartheid era. A coloured student in an ex HOR school eloquently expressed this view:

Yes, they do (need training). They need training because you know, I think, it originates from apartheid actually. Teachers are old and they went through that and we didn't go through it. They can stand in front of the classroom and maybe say this is a white child, this is an Indian child and you know, they did this to us. So it's possible that they would learn. Their mentality, their mindset must be changed because this is what they are brought up with. They must be thinking they are not better than whites. So now their mindsets must be changed see? (so that they can see that they can be better than whites). So they do need training and they haven't been with blacks cause there's segregation, with the coloureds one side, the whites one side, the Indians one side, the blacks one

side. They need to mix with these people and their minds need to be trained on how to interact with other race groups.

Some students stressed the importance of knowing the different cultures of the students in the desegregated schools. An African student in a formerly white school said:

Yes, I would even give an example. We have a different culture when it comes to eyes for blacks.

There are things they do not know about. Like us, when we talk to an adult, we tend to look down.

When you talk to a white person, you must look them straight in the eye. So if you don't know that you look down and they think you are lying to them but you are respecting them on the other hand.

An Indian student in the same school supported the previous view but also pointed out a further confounding factor like this:

Yes, they need to be educated on the different cultures. Some teachers just take it as being disobedient when you look at them. It is sometimes difficult to separate acceptable eye contact and staring which is unacceptable.

Another African student in an ex HOD school said:

I feel you do need, the teachers need to be briefed in an overall perspective, like they need to know the background where they're coming from, the type of which things they have been exposed to in the past so that they can be able to help. So there must be some form of training so that they can see, you know.

An African student in the same school said:

If you don't understand our culture and I say I was absent yesterday because I went to a herbalist or something, you won't understand. You will want a good reason for being absent. To me, that's a good reason. It's our tradition. We must also be allowed to wear leather straps around our wrist.

It is important to observe and respect the cultures of different races in desegregated schools without falling into the traps observed by critics of 'multiculturalist' approaches.

5.3 CHANGES IN DESEGREGATED SCHOOLS

All desegregated schools have had to undergo some changes in line with their multicultural situations. Desegregated schools are located in previously Indian, coloured and white areas. Most changes are designed to make learning and life in general enjoyable for all participants. Some changes, however, are contentious and also generate confusion and conflict. It must be highlighted that each school has at least two sets of students, those in whose area the school is found and have strong ownership claims and those who come from other areas and are sometimes perceived as having 'invaded' the school with clandestine intentions of taking over.

5.3.1 *ADMISSION POLICY*

One very contentious issue is the admission policy in desegregated schools. Students were asked which admission policy they preferred between a first come, first serve principle and admission of learners from the immediate surrounding first before taking in children who live outside the school area. Interesting and conflicting responses were evoked by this question. An African student in a previously Indian only school said:

I think that people from the school surrounding should be taken first cause we, in Umlazi have schools. We leave those schools and they won't go there. So they should be taken first.

A white student in a previously white school said:

Those people that live in the area don't wanna travel long distances to go to school. They should get the opportunity to go to school in their area. So they should be given preference because those other people that come in, they've got a school in their areas, that they should be attending.

Some students strongly opposed the idea of preferential treatment for residents. One student in an Indian school said:

If they take people from around the school first, I don't think people from outside will get spaces. I think, there is some reason why we came to this school. Like me, I came here because I wanted to learn English and mix with people who speak English. Anyone who comes when there is a space must be taken.

In all schools, the admission principle was fiercely debated. Most students tried to motivate why they were opposed to preferential treatment for residents. An Indian student in an ex Hod school made this comment:

We are one nation. We are supposed to build one another. I don't think that anyone should be segregated but everyone should be together. We are trying to say here, Indian pupils should get first preference in the school because we live around here. It's not that. You would have to go to the shop to see how many Indian pupils, are not at school today there by the shop, then you have a black child who is paying bus fare and paying his school fees and they are in the school whereas an Indian child does not come to school and does not even pay school fees. People that come from outside are the ones that want to get educated.

A similar comment was made by a white student in an ex NED school. He observed that:

Maybe, the first come first serve principle shows a lot of interest. Because if someone like Floyd from kwaMashu wants to come to my school and he comes 31st of January and he says he wants to be in our school. Meanwhile, there could be Joe that comes in on the 2nd of November who is in the area. It shows that Floyd needs to join the school more than Joe. It is like the people in the area are taking the school for granted. They can't get into other school and they decide to come here. That's what happens.

An Indian student in the same school stretched this observation further. She said:

They don't even have pride in the school. I think, people from outside take the school more seriously than people in the area.

Students tried to come up with admission criteria that would be fair to all applicants. In an ex NED school, an Indian student said:

I feel if learners from outside the area are willing to abide by the rules, they should be taken. I think, it is fair that anyone who comes first is admitted.

An African student quickly added:

And in black areas, there is not as much education compared to white schools.

A white student made this suggestion:

I feel that the school should reserve 60% of spaces for students from the area and 40% for students from outside. If these spaces are not filled then anyone can be admitted.

An African student made a different suggestion. He said:

I think admission must go according to racial mix in South African. If maybe, South Africa has $\frac{3}{4}$ of blacks, that must be considered when students are admitted.

A white student made this challenge to the last suggestion.

But there is also problems in the country like I mean some provinces, they have mostly whites like the Transvaal provinces. There is a lot more white than there is like in KwaZulu Natal where there

is a lot more black. Then how would you put your ration in there? I mean some of these people I have heard travel up to an hour and a half on a bus each day to get then to school. They can't be happy when they learn here.

An Indian student suggested merit. She said:

I think when pupils are admitted, a report must be checked, a form must be filled and they must pay the school fees. People should be admitted according to merit.

An African student made a strong objection to the last statement. He said:

No, I don't know if that is right. Nobody deserves to be treated that way. Everybody is equal, no matter if you stupid.

Students at this school found it difficult to reach a consensus on which criteria were most appropriate and fair. A white student admitted that:

The admission of learners, I mean is a very touchy subject.

Other schools, however, appeared to have formulated elaborate admission policies to deal with desegregation. A student who was a member of the school governing body in an ex HOD school made this disclosure:

I have a letter because I'm a member of the school governing body. The letter states that students within a 3-km radius will be given first preference to come to school to be admitted.

This was perceived as a systematic method of excluding students who do not stay within the school's vicinity. A decision had already been made and students did not know about this admission policy. Some students interpreted this policy as an act of perpetuating and reinforcing division along racial lines, a replica of the apartheid policies. One student registered his bitter anger and disgust by saying:

It's not our school. We come from outside. If that's the way they want to treat us, it's alright.

This statement clearly confirmed the 'malaise' in desegregated schools. Students eagerly pursue unity and harmony but when feathers are sufficiently ruffled, they always revert to the 'us and them' syndrome. The African student here failed to display the much-talked about oneness in desegregated schools and called the school 'their school'.

In an ex HOR school, they did not seem to have any problems with the admission policy that was followed. Even the very few Africans who had gained admission to the school seemed to agree with the recruitment procedure that was followed. A coloured student at this school pointed out that:

Teachers go to all the primary schools and they like give them forms or something like that to enroll and if there's any space then they work on the first come first serve.

5.3.2 *LEARNING OF MOTHER-TONGUE*

All desegregated schools have admitted Africans, the majority of which are Zulu-speaking. Students' feelings on the learning of Zulu were canvassed. Mixed feelings on this subject were obtained. An African student in an Indian school made this comment:

Ja, I think that's right (learning of Zulu) cause to learn like Afrikaans.... To me, Afrikaans is of no help. I think, we should do English and our mother tongues because that's where we come from. We don't have to throw it away but now it happens that we don't do it in this school though about 70% students are Zulu-speaking Africans.

A coloured student in an ex HOR school supported the learning of Zulu for different reasons though she said:

I mean if you learn your mother tongue plus English that is two subjects. The language you speak must be learnt at school too besides other languages. I think it would be nice if we could also learn Zulu. I'm English-speaking. English is our mother-tongue, we would like to learn like Zulu and during breaks, we don't know what they are saying. Maybe they say something that's eh that's funny. We don't have to stare. Maybe if we learn Zulu, we would be able to understand.

Some students were romantic about the learning of languages. They expanded the issue of learning Zulu to include other languages. A coloured student in an ex NED schools said:

I feel that people should learn all other languages. It is an advantage to know a lot of languages.

Another student in a coloured school said:

What can help us internationally are English and French. But we happen not to learn subjects that will help us internationally. We learn subjects that will help us only in our country.

Some students opted for a middle of the park stance like the following African student in an ex NED school:

I don't think that it should be compulsory. You can learn it as a seventh subject if you want to.

An Indian student in an ex HOD school made a similar comment. She said:

I mean Zulu should be offered as well. But if you want to do Zulu, you gonna learn it on your own. You don't get teachers to help you. You are given a textbook and notebook and you must work with that.

Other students were opposed to the learning of Zulu. Some were polite on this matter while others were strongly opposed. A coloured student in an ex HOR school said:

We were enthusiastic to learn Zulu because our school has English speakers and Zulu speakers. I'm trying to say people wanna learn Zulu but there is just no opportunity. We also coping well without learning every pupil's mother tongue.

A white student in an ex NED school make this observation:

There are eleven official languages in this country and to teach all eleven of them would not be possible. People would get confused.

A coloured student in an ex HOR school reiterated this observation. She commented like this:

If each person could learn her mother tongue, you can imagine how many languages would have to be learnt. Let's just say her mother tongue is Zulu mine is English, hers is Afrikaans. This means a lot of teachers would be needed to teach the languages plus the whole of subjects.

The school governing bodies determine the language policy of South African schools. It would appear that there is not much understanding on how this could be done to satisfy all participants in the school.

5.3.3 *EMPLOYMENT OF AFRICAN TEACHERS*

Desegregated schools have seen a change in their racial composition. In most schools, only the student population has undergone this change. The racial composition of teachers in these schools has remained the same. Desegregated schools have experienced an influx of African students. Students were asked about the need to employ African teachers in their schools. Different responses were obtained. Some agreed with the idea. For instance, a white student in an ex NED school had this to say:

I agree with that. To me, what I've learnt is that what I've seen is that Africans seem to respect African teachers more than the white teachers and they seem to understand each other a lot better. There is a culture element there and they should employ African teachers.

This comment seems to suggest that African teachers should be employed to deal with African students who are out of control. The comment implies that white students will not have anything to do with African teachers. The above comment immediately got a counter from an African student:

You come to a school. It is a white school and since we have grown in numbers, we want to change the whole thing. That is not right.

Students who travel to desegregated schools leave township schools and African teachers behind to be taught by other race groups. It has also been found out that these students tend to guard against the school becoming a 'township' school. They seem not to favour the admission of other black students and black teachers. Some students, however, favoured the employment of African teachers. An African student in an Indian school said:

I think there should be African teachers because Indian teachers cannot teach Zulu. For like Bio, if you don't understand something, the teacher will explain to you what they mean in Zulu. In English it's only English if you don't understand, that's it.

An Indian student in a white school made this comment:

I think more African teachers should be employed because I think, there are only two at the moment.

A coloured student in a coloured school made this observation:

You see like now, we got more coloured teachers at our school and hardly any blacks. There are no blacks at all. There should be like black employed teachers. We're not like saying, there should be more coloureds and more blacks, you know what I'm saying like how can I say it? It must be equal.

Some students adopted a 'colour blind' approach on this matter. A Indian student in an ex NED school made this comment:

If a teacher is qualified If an African teacher is qualified to do the job, then employ them. If they don't have the qualification then it's a waste of time and money. We do not need African teachers because they are African. If we need an accounting teacher, we must just get whoever is qualified for the job. Race is not the issue here, the qualifications.

A coloured student in an ex HOR school also motivated for the 'colour-blind' approach. She stated:

Yes, I think, there should be African teachers, even white teachers and Indian teachers because we can learn their cultures and their ways of living and they can learn from us. In the classroom, we learn about the world of work and teachers are skilled and can prepare us for the outside world. When we go to the technikons and universities, we are gonna meet with different people.

Another student in the same school supported the latter comment:

For example, we go to tech on Saturdays and we meet like different races. There is not only one nation at lectures. There is different races that lecture us, the Indians, the coloureds, blacks and whites. See? There's all different races and we get on well. Even in the class, it's like multicultural

and we don't see the people and say Aye! look at that. That's an Indian and say Aye! the way they are clever, they are always eating dhal. If you come in late, you don't say, I won't sit next to Rivashni or something. You'll sit next to them because they are students, they are our colleagues.

5.3.4 *OTHER CHANGES*

Students were asked if their schools had made any changes after opening doors to all learners. Interviewees were asked to give examples just like in subjects, rules schools uniform etc. A student in an ex HOD school pointed out that:

I don't think that there are any changes because of desegregation. Our school has just remained the same. People aren't patriotic about the country and the school and putting it all together. They do not really mention so much of patriotism.

In an ex NED school, some changes had been made. A white student made this claim:

Yes, there are many changes. For instance, they converted the choir. We used to have a strictly white choir at school and then, when African and other race groups were allowed into the school, they converted the choir from white to a Zulu choir. The Africans sing how they want to and not we or whites want them to and it has come out great. We allowed gumboot dancing. We allow the people to do their cultures as long as they want to do them properly.

Students did not have very clear ideas on what changes would be appropriate. A coloured student, however, in an ex HOR school made this suggestion:

The school must introduce cultural dances. Maybe if the blacks know how to do gumboot dancing, they can teach us and we can also get involved because that looks nice and fun to do. Cultural subjects would be enjoyable.

It appears that African students were expected to show something or do a performance to entertain the other race groups. It is not mentioned what other race groups would do. Even in an ex NED school, a similar trend was observed. Zulu choirs and gumboot dancing meant that Africans would entertain other race groups. These practices tend to drive people back into their shells, as such practices are perceived as a form of racism.

5.4 DEMOCRATISATION AND RACE

Some questions were asked to find out how far schools had progressed in the route of democratization. The student racial composition in schools had changed as a result of desegregation. Proportional representation was assumed to mean the observation of racial composition in all structures of the school such as the governing body, the RCL and the teaching staff. Students' views on this matter were canvassed. Most students were opposed to proportional representation, favouring a 'colour blind' approach.

5.4.1 *PROPORTIONAL REPRESENTATION*

Students were asked what their views were on proportional representation of parents in the governing body. An Indian student in an Indian school said:

I think, if the parent is really willing to make the sacrifice to be in the governing body, irrespective of whether the person is black, white, green, blue, orange or whatever you know, then that person should be considered if the person really wants you know, if the person stands up.

A coloured student in an ex HOR school articulated a similar position:

Even with the governing body too. If a black parent wants to join, let them join. Even if he lives in Umlazi, Lamontville or something. In our school, there's only coloured parents in the governing body.

A white student in an ex NED school pointed out that:

With parents, we can't say that they must have so many black parents, so many white parents because that is the racial composition of the students. the parents in the governing body are the parents who have bothered to come to the meetings. If there aren't any black parents in the governing body, it means they haven't bothered to go to the meeting. They are not interested.

Similar sentiments were voiced with the possibility for proportional representation in the RCL. In all schools, students pointed out that student representatives were elected by a secret ballot and everyone had a chance to vote in whoever they believed would aptly represent them. Proportional representation was totally rejected.

5.4.2 *PREFECTS v. RCL*

In all three schools, there were both prefects and RCL. There appeared to be some uneasy tension, rivalry and envy between these two student structures. When interviewees were asked to illustrate the difference between these structures, elements of antagonism were picked up. A prefect in an ex NED school said:

The prefects are the disciplinarians. They keep law and order in the school. They are like the school policemen. Prefects are only matric students and it is an ongoing thing even on the weekends. Prefects do not have breaks to themselves and time with their friends. The choice of prefects is a bit complicated. They look at the person inside. The RCL has only to convey what we want to the teachers. The RCL is there for the changes in the school. It is like a link between the pupils and the teachers. RCL is like a part-time thing and any pupil can be elected to do it. RCL do not have to lead by example and they do not bother about anything.

An RCL member at an ex HOR school expressed a different view. She claimed:

We're more higher in the sense that we go straight to the problem, the governing body and everything. The prefects still have to come tell us everything so like we tell the governing body and they just tell the teachers. We go to the parents and everything. The RCL has a disciplinary court and the prefects just have maybe juices in school and all that. They don't take court with RCL.

Another RCL member in the same school exposed her envious feeling like this:

I have experienced, right? I won't deny it, I had applied to be a prefect and was turned down. Reasons being, my past wasn't too bright and shiny but here's my friends, you can ask them, I've really changed. Before, I used to hang out with people who were known to be troublemakers. I think it's wrong. They must look at you on how you are now and not on how you were. And about them

making the children write certain things, they won't talk about things you do in the school. They write about things you do in the week-ends. I mean what you do in the week-ends has nothing to do with school like. As long as you come to school, obey the school rules because I can tell you, these who were chosen to be prefects are no examples on week-ends. They are actually an embarrassment to our school.

This kind of rivalry between prefects and RCL is not healthy. The school, themselves, are responsible for this tension and they do this by elevating the status of prefects over RCL. The RCL is a new structure that has been formed to support school democratization and it is important for all schools to give full support to ideal opportunity to teach students about elections, transparency and democracy.

5.4.3 *INPUT IN CURRICULUM MATTERS*

Students were asked what input they had in curriculum matters. They indicated that they did not have input on what they learnt at school and how they were taught. Yet it transpired that students had clear knowledge about what they wanted to learn. In some instances, they attributed lethargy among students and other school deficiencies to what has been prescribed for them. A student in an Indian school illustrated this point by saying:

We should be asked. Usually students come to school oh accounting, home economics stuff like that. They don't wanna go. That's why they are bunking school cause teachers aren't making things funny now. I'm not being against any subject but we're doing arithmetic sequence now in maths.

What is gonna come out in our life? Now we're stuck in a situation where we gonna think $A+B^2$

you know, something like that. It's not gonna help us at all. We need to do some life skills, like training skills. Guidance must be an exam subject. Because we are growing teenagers, we have to face the big world. We need to know how to go into that world. We not gonna use maths.

Another student emphasized the same point like this:

Some students won't know like they'll say "Ooh! I'm getting hair". Teachers won't even explain to them because teachers don't even go onto those things and if a student tries to ask them, he's naught and must be grounded or something. At this very time, who's dying from AIDs, I mean drug problems, teenage pregnancy, rape, child abuse? We're the ones suffering all this.

The above comment supports Harber's (1997) finding in an unpublished paper that students who attended a democratic school in Eritrea called the Zero school observed that teachers in the Zero school encouraged questions, even if they were not particularly good ones, while the teachers in a normal, traditional and authoritarian school discouraged questions and even scolded students if they asked questions. Students in a white school also indicated that they did not have a say in curriculum matters. An African student in an ex NED school claimed that:

Zulu is done as a third language and I feel it's not good. I for one, am doing two first languages and I don't think it's right. In my report I can show you, I do Zulu as a third language and they say, they cannot let me do Zulu as a 2nd language. I think that thing should go away.

Another student supported him by saying:

I think at the end, it should be according to a person's choice. I can see that I can't cope. Why must I be forced to do something I cannot do and not be allowed to do what I understand better? I am doing English at standard grade level and this will affect my chances of getting an exemption.

Students in an ex HOR school made a strong case about not having input in curriculum matters. A coloured student said:

I also think that they should do away with Afrikaans. It's of no use cause I know for a fact even if I go to Cape Town to coloured-speaking people I would never need Afrikaans. Maybe before like if you go like AWB and you have to speak Afrikaans. Now you don't need Afrikaans. At our school, the teachers make up packages and all we do is to select what we want.

There are widely-held beliefs about the immaturity of children with regard to curriculum and Meighan's (1988) traditional transmission educationalists' tend to believe that pupils should not be consulted, are not competent to make judgements about schooling and will abuse any attempts by teachers to gain their views and they generally accept the spirit of you do not consult the clay about what kind of pot it wants to be. Yet pupils clearly want to have input in curriculum matters and have viewpoints and what they need to learn.

5.4.4 *COMMUNICATION WITH AUTHORITY*

In all these schools, students indicated that it was easy to communicate with the authorities. In an ex HOD school, students pointed out that if students wanted first hand information from the principal, they could make an appointment and could go to the office and talk to the principal. A student in an ex NED school

also emphasized that democratization has helped with racial integration because everybody is given a chance to make their points.

Students also indicated that the authorities needed to consult them on extra-mural activities. When students were asked to indicate how this could be done. An African student in an ex HOD school suggested that:

They should consult us. Different people like different things like soccer and they like cricket. They should ask us. A survey should be conducted to get ideas.

These findings show that teachers and students have the will to work together. The policy-makers need to design some mechanisms of meeting students and teachers halfway in order to make the processes of desegregation and integration smooth.

CHAPTER SIX

CONCLUSION AND RECOMMENDATIONS.

In this chapter, conclusions will be drawn and recommendations will be made based on the findings obtained from the three schools that have been studied. It must however, be pointed out that while the patterns in these schools might be similar to some schools, the patterns do not necessarily reflect the situation in all exNED, exHOR and exHOD schools. Any intention to extrapolate from these findings will have to be exercised with caution. It must also be highlighted that obtaining accurately, the perceptions of students about a sensitive topic such as race is by no means an easy task. Students do not readily show their perceptions. It is also not atypical of South African students to regard some patently obvious abnormalities as normal. After all, the policy of apartheid had been in force in South Africa for

such a long time that it almost if not totally assumed the status of a normal policy. Vally and Dalamba (1999) point out that racism in schools is extremely prevalent, intense and disturbingly seen as 'normal'. The investigator therefore, did not only rely on students' perceptions but also looked for some other evidence of racial integration in the schools studied.

6.1 DIFFICULTIES IN DESEGREGATED SCHOOLS

Schools must be commended for their efforts to bring about racial integration against factors that militate against this process. One such factor is the rate at which racial desegregation is taking place in residential areas. The pace of residential area desegregation does not match school desegregation. This is evidenced by the presence of predominantly African schools in neighborhoods that are 'white', Indian or 'coloured'. The urgency of formulating policies to facilitate racial integration both at provincial and national levels does not meet the need in schools. This difficulty is highlighted by complaints made by some educationalist. For instance, Mr. J.J. Marais, the Regional Chief Director of Durban South noted in one of his regional publications that they are pressurized to change but no one is telling them how to change. If this problem can be articulated by such a senior education official, one imagines the extent of the difficulty to individual schools. Insignificant facelifts in the form of verbal recommendations by individuals in most schools accurately reflect the predicament of educators and learners in desegregated schools. At times these efforts create even a worse image for these schools. For instance, one white student in a previously white school argued:

We allowed gumboot dancing. We allow people to do their cultures as long as they want to do them properly.

This student suggests that they give permission to subordinate race groups and also monitor and judge what is acceptable in previously white schools. The groups to whom the schools previously belonged tend to have ownership claims and also cling to these claims. The fact that schools have desegregated does not persuade them to relinquish such beliefs. They expect to remain with the status of legitimate owners and the newly admitted groups are expected to acknowledge that they have merely been done favours by being admitted to these superior schools. The owner groups defend any weaknesses that are identified in these schools. A white student in a previously white school demonstrated this when the interviewees were asked why Technical Drawing was not offered as a subject in their school. He said:

We did everything to try and get a teacher for T.D. We failed. Obviously, you cannot have a subject if you do not have a teacher and T.D. had to be phased out.

Students to whom schools previously belonged tend to personalize most things about their schools. They see themselves as inextricably linked to their schools and any threat to the schools is perceived as a threat to them.

Most studies on school desegregation and integration focus on how different race groups get on with each other. It is also evident that there is also a phenomenon of resegregation within desegregated school. For instance, in an exHOD school, a class that was obtained to respond to a questionnaire was 100% black although the school composition was almost 50% black and 50% Indian. There were no strong justifications for this. There may be two explanations, one is that the school itself streams students according to race or that Africans resegregate within desegregated schools. An African student at this school made this argument:

Sometimes, it (imbalances) is caused by the course they choose. Some blacks students are afraid to do computers because they think computers are difficult and they go to things like T.D. whereas on the other hand, other races prefer computer studies. In this school, only T.D. classes are mainly boys and are black.

This argument confirms that even some Africans acknowledge that they have an inferior position reserved for them in their new schools and they also accept this position. *int. opp*

In the UK and USA, desegregated schools have seen a high departure of white students. This phenomenon in USA has been coined 'white flight'. A similar phenomenon has occurred in South African especially in white schools. For instance, in the previously white school used in this study, there was only one white student in a class of 23. It is not claimed that this was the position in all classes or the whole school but it must be pointed out that in South Africa, unlike in UK and USA, the Africans are the majority race group and a possibility exists that all white schools will eventually lose their predesegregation identities. This means that in South Africa, we must be very cautious when applying methods and solutions that were used in UK and USA..

In South Africa, the desegregated schools only form a very small percentage of schools. Very few students benefit from the resources that are abundant in desegregated schools. The conditions in the majority African schools are still horrifying and this makes one understand why African students leave 'township schools' in droves taking taxis and buses to desegregated schools.

In all the three schools studied, it became clear that the only thing that had changed much was the racial composition of the student population. The teacher population in all three schools did not show any

changes. They remained the same as during the apartheid era. Even the newly elected school governing bodies did not reflect the racial composition of these schools. Only one of the three schools had an African teacher who was employed to teach Zulu first language and not any other subject. In these schools, most interviewees did not see anything irregular about the racial composition of teachers and governors. Instead, they once more reaffirmed their 'colour blind' stance. For instance, an Indian student in an exNED school commented like this:

If a teacher is qualified..... If an African teacher is qualified to do the job, then employ them. If they don't have the qualification then it's a waste of time and money. We do not need African teachers because they are African. If we need an accounting teacher, we must just get whoever is qualified for the job. Race is not the issue here, the qualifications.

As Vally and Dalamba (1999) argue, race is, indeed seen as normal. In all these schools, the teachers who had the relevant qualifications just coincidentally belonged to race groups under which the school fell during the apartheid era. The fact that there were no African teachers by implication meant that they were not qualified. The school governing bodies did not have racial compositions that reflected the changed schools' racial composition.

6.2 RECOMMENDATIONS FOR DESEGREGATED SCHOOLS.

Before coming up with recommendations, the investigator wants to state clearly that these recommendations are based on his observations and sometimes based on his beliefs. Anyone who does not agree with the recommendations and finds any aspects unacceptable can challenge them. The investigator does not intend to pretend to be a Messiah or best scholar on the issue of racism.

In South Africa, as pointed out earlier, different race groups received different and unequal education. If there was equality of educational opportunities, there would be no noticeable one way movement of students from the historically most disadvantaged schools to the direction of the advantaged schools. One way of bringing about equity and equality would be to reverse the apartheid trend. The least resourced schools should receive more funding in order to raise them to the level of other schools. This might seem to be not helpful to desegregated schools. My argument is that desegregated schools are under a lot of pressure because they are perceived to be better than other schools. The focus will shift from desegregated schools to all other schools and students and their parents will know that schools are just the same.

For a long time in South Africa, Africans have occupied a level that is lower than other race groups. Laws and policies have been designed to maintain this state of affairs. Any attempts to oppose this were suppressed with violent force. All this was done to make Africans to accept that they were an inferior species. Now after school desegregation, Africans are expected to miraculously forget everything and rise to the level of other students just overnight without any intervention. The baggage from the apartheid past such as learned helplessness and self-fulfilling prophecies have to be shed by African students. It is the investigator's contention that to bring about equity and equality in desegregated schools, intentional interventions must be employed. Other race groups have a superiority complex while Africans have inferiority and colour complexes. It is therefore, important to openly work towards bringing Africans to the same level as other race groups in schools. It is not the intention of the investigator to imply that whites must be neglected or that standards must be dropped in desegregated schools. The argument is that more positive focus should be directed at Africans with the aim of elevating them to the same level as other race groups. Policy-makers need to formulate policies that will be biased in favour of Africans. There is nothing sinister about this suggestion because affirmative

action has been embraced by most companies country wide to deal with the imbalances created by apartheid policies. This might be viewed as apartheid in reverse and it is the investigator's contention that at the moment, white students and other race groups are ahead of Africans. Africans need to be given attention to catch-up with other race groups. The aim is not to put African students ahead of other race groups. The African students in South African schools are in majority but in terms of academic achievement, they are nowhere in the picture. If we accept this, then the stereotype that Africans have a lower IQ will hold. Before this is accepted, elaborate policies aimed at lifting Africans will have to be formulated and applied. The need to do this has been recognised and articulated in most countries. Most recently, the South African president, Thabo Mbeki has the term coined 'African Renaissance'. Even schools need to restore the lost self-esteem of African learners by praising them more for whatever achievements than the other race groups. They must be encouraged to work harder in order to reach the levels of other race groups. It must also be highlighted that they are in this position because of past injustices and not because of their inherent stupidity. It must however, be emphasized that obstacles have now been cleared and they must take advantage of that by initiating and sustaining meaningful moves to catch-up. Any improvement by African students must receive positive reinforcement and suggestions given for doing even better.

Racism throughout South Africa is a sensitive and somewhat difficult issue to deal with. Even in desegregated schools, everyone is so deeply embroiled in it that it is difficult to work out how to best address the problem of racism. The country itself does not appear to have ideas on how to effectively deal with racism. South Africa is called the 'Rainbow Nation' and some people have begun to point out that South Africa needs to leave this name and show steps forwards. Some students have indicated that their schools are like 'United Nations'. This is produced by the heavy emphasis laid on the need to know and accept each other's culture. Harber (1997) argues that there is a need for many desegregated

schools to openly confront issues of racism. He further argues that schools prefer to ignore, play down or defuse racial issues because they are difficult and sensitive and teachers do not feel confident about handling them. South Africa must realize that the 'honeymoon' is over and school curricula must start tackling real problems faced by the community. School curricula must include issues of racism and how to deal with them. Most scholars have also pointed out that school curricula need to incorporate issues on gender and disability. These issues have been put on the peripheries of South African education and after the first free democratic elections of 1994, people were expected to master everything that is related to democracy. School curricula need to also incorporate the issue of violence and democracy. Harber (1997) observes that in a democracy, there should be an emphasis on reason, evidence, a critical open-mindedness, fairness, co-operation, negotiation, compromise and accommodation. He further points out that values and behaviors are not inborn - they are not inherited genetically but are acquired through social learning. Inset workshops are required for teachers in South Africa to empower them to deal with issues of democracy, violence, gender, disability and human rights. The naked truth is that most of these factors have been neglected or deliberately violated by the South African education system. The cadres produced are therefore, not well prepared to deal efficiently with these issues.

Students in desegregated schools and all other schools will benefit from the expansion of the curricula with the inclusion of topics that are 'bugging' the whole society. The country as a whole will benefit from bringing all schools to the levels of schools that appear to attract students like desegregated schools. The method of working this out will certainly need further investigation and there will definitely be some pitfalls along the way. But South Africa will benefit from trying out certain strategies and not shying away from failure.

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APPENDIX A.

INTRODUCTION.

I AM NKULULEKO HLAKANYANA, AN MED STUDENT AT THE UNIVERSITY OF NATAL IN DURBAN. I AM CONDUCTING A STUDY ON *STUDENTS' PERCEPTIONS OF RACIAL DESEGREGATION AND INTEGRATION IN DURBAN SCHOOLS* TOWARDS FULFILLING THE REQUIREMENTS FOR MY DEGREE. I THEREFORE, KINDLY REQUEST YOU TO COMPLETE THIS QUESTIONNAIRE. ALL YOUR RESPONSES WILL BE TREATED AS CONFIDENTIAL.

A. BACKGROUND

MARK THE APPROPRIATE BOX WITH A TICK (✓) OR COMPLETE THE DETAILS WHERE REQUIRED

| | | |
|---------------|--|----------|
| HOME LANGUAGE | | |
| AGE | | YEARS |
| SEX | | |
| | | MALE |
| | | FEMALE |
| RACE | | |
| | | BLACK |
| | | INDIAN |
| | | WHITE |
| | | COLOURED |

PLEASE TURN TO PAGE 2

B. MY VIEWS ABOUT LEARNERS (Tick one box in relation to each statement)

| | Agree | Not sure | Disagree |
|--|-------|----------|----------|
| 1. It is good in my opinion that my school has put learners of different races together. | | | |
| 2. All learners must learn their mother tongue as one of their subjects. | | | |
| 3. The representative council of learners must represent the racial composition of learners. | | | |
| 4. New learners must adapt to what has always been done at this school. | | | |
| 5. The interests of all learners must be taken in consideration when decisions on extra- mural activities are taken. | | | |
| 6. Learners should be excused from wearing the school uniform if it is in conflict with their cultural practices. | | | |
| 7. All learners are treated equally at this school. | | | |

C. MY VIEWS ABOUT MY TEACHERS.

| | Agree | Not sure | Disagree |
|--|-------|----------|----------|
| 1. Teachers need more training on how to handle racially mixed classes. | | | |
| 2. The teaching staff must represent the racial composition of the school. | | | |
| 3. Our teachers do not welcome learners from other race groups | | | |
| 4. Teachers need to understand better the different cultures of learners in their classes. | | | |

D. MY VIEWS ABOUT MY SCHOOL.

| | Agree | Not sure | Disagree |
|---|-------|----------|----------|
| 1. This school has deteriorated since opening doors to all learners | | | |
| 2. This school has instituted changes in line with the new multicultural situation | | | |
| 3. This school must admit more African learners. | | | |
| 4. Our school must admit learners from the immediate surrounding first before taking learners from other areas. | | | |
| 5. There should be separate classes for learners from disadvantaged backgrounds because of language problems | | | |
| 6. Our school governing body must racially represent the student population. | | | |
| 7. More African teachers must be employed at our school. | | | |
| 8. Our school must enrol learners on a 'first come first served' basis. | | | |

THANK YOU FOR YOUR TIME. ENJOY YOUR STUDIES AND GOOD LUCK WITH YOUR EXAMINATIONS.

APPENDIX B

INTERVIEW SCHEDULE

I AM NKULULEKO, A MASTERS EDUCATION STUDENT AT THE UNIVERSITY OF NATAL IN DURBAN. IN THE SECOND SCHOOL TERM OF THIS YEAR, I CONDUCTED A SURVEY AT THIS SCHOOL ON *STUDENTS' PERCEPTIONS OF RACIAL DESEGREGATION AND INTEGRATION IN SCHOOLS IN THE DURBAN AREA*. THIS EXERCISE IS A FOLLOW-UP ON THAT SURVEY.

BEFORE WE START, I WOULD LIKE TO BRIEFLY EXPLAIN THE DIFFERENCE BETWEEN DESEGREGATION AND INTEGRATION. DESEGREGATION IS A SIMPLE PROCESS OF ALLOWING STUDENTS OF DIFFERENT RACIAL GROUPS TO ATTEND IN THE SAME SCHOOL WHILE INTEGRATION IS WHERE STUDENTS OF DIFFERENT RACES IN A SCHOOL RELATE TO EACH OTHER IN AN EQUAL AND RESPECTFUL WAY.

VERIFY THESE FINDINGS.

1. A very high agreement level to the statement 'It is good in my opinion that my school has put learners of different races together' was registered. Do you agree or disagree with this? Why? If no why not?
2. Most respondents did not agree with the idea of separate classes for learners from disadvantaged backgrounds. What do you think about this? Is this a good or a bad practice?
3. Does your school welcome learners from other races? How do you know?
4. Do your teachers welcome learners from different race groups? How do you know?

5. Some respondents disagreed with the statement 'All learners must learn their mother-tongue as one of their subjects'. What do you think were the reasons for this?
6. A very high agreement level to the statement 'New learners must adapt to what has always been done at this school' was registered. What do you make of this?
7. There were two statements on the admission of learners :
- (a) a first come first serve principle and
 - (b) admission of learners from the immediate surrounding first before taking in children who live outside the school area..

Both statements scored high agreement levels. These two are mutually exclusive. Which principle in your opinion should be followed at your school?

8. There appeared to be some confusion over the school standard when a comparison of before and after desegregation is being made. In your opinion, has your school improved after desegregation or has it got worse?
9. The respondents did not come out clearly on the issue of proportional representation of :
- (a) teachers
 - (b) parents in the governing body
 - (c) learners in the RCL

What are your views on proportional representation?

10. The majority of respondents were opposed to the employment of African teachers in your school. Can you give some reasons for that?
11. Most respondents indicated that teachers needed training on how to handle racially mixed classes. Why?

12. Most respondents agreed with the need to take into consideration the interests of all learners when decisions on extra-mural activities are taken. Do you have suggestions on how this could be done?

ARE WE HAPPY TOGETHER?

1. If you had a choice would you remain at this school? Why?
2. As learners of different races in the same school:
 - (a) How do you as learners of different races after school get on with each other?
 - (b) What are some common problems?
 - (c) How do you deal with problems between you?
 - (d) Do you have friends from other race groups in your school?
 - (e) Do you have any form of contact after school?
 - (f) What do you do when you meet outside school hours?

WHAT ABOUT CHANGES?

1. In your opinion, has your school made any changes after opening its doors to all learners? Can you give examples? Just like in subjects, rules, school uniform, etc.
2. What other changes do you think need to be affected at your school? In your opinion, who is supposed to make those changes?

ON SCHOOL DEMOCRATISATION

1. How are learner representatives (RCL) elected at your school?
2. Do you have Prefects or the Representative Council of Learners at your

school or both?

3. Is the racial composition taken into consideration when students representatives are elected? What is the racial composition of the RCL?
4. What input do learners have in curriculum matters? Have any changes been made?
5. How do learners make their suggestions or requests to the school authority? (Such as tours, parents' day, prize-giving day, sports, etc.)
6. Has school democratisation helped racial integration? How?

INTERVIEWS CONDUCTED

SCHOOL

DATE

RESPONDENTS

(GRADE 11

LEARNERS)

| | | |
|--------------------|-------------------|----------|
| <i>BRETTONWOOD</i> | <i>20-08-1999</i> | <i>6</i> |
| <i>FAIRVALE</i> | <i>25-08-1999</i> | <i>6</i> |
| <i>GANGES</i> | <i>26-08-1999</i> | <i>6</i> |

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